

N.A. BULGANIN, N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

VISIT OF FRIENDSHIP
TO INDIA,
BURMA
AND AFGHANISTAN

Speeches and Official Documents

A. V. Devanaj,

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N. A. BULGANIN, N. S. KHRUSHCHIOV

VISIT OF FRIENDSHIP
TO INDIA, BURMA
AND AFGHANISTAN

SPEECHES AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

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Н. А. БУЛГАНИН и Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ

ВИЗИТ ДРУЖБЫ
В ИНДИЮ, БИРМУ И АФГАНИСТАН

Translated from the Russian

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VISIT TO INDIA

*November 18-December 1,
December 7-14, 1955*

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

AT AIRFIELD IN DELHI

November 18

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends,

We are happy to have come to the capital of the Republic of India at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and to express personally our cordial greetings and best wishes to the great Indian people.

We step on the ancient soil of India with a feeling of joy springing from the profound sentiment of respect and friendship that the Soviet people have for the talented and hard-working Indian people, the creator of a great original culture.

The heroic struggle of the freedom-loving Indian people to restore the independence of their country has always met with the understanding and warm sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people greeted the creation of a sovereign Republic of India with profound satisfaction and joy.

Our people has great faith in the creative forces of the Indian people which are playing an ever greater role in international life, in strengthening universal security and peace. The Soviet Government understands and sympathizes with the Indian Government's persistent efforts to ensure peace and raise the economy of the country.

The Soviet and Indian peoples have many common tasks. India and the Soviet Union are exerting great efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, and stand for the settlement of international issues by peaceful means, through negotiations, a policy which has already yielded substantial positive results.

The common efforts of India and the U.S.S.R. to extend their friendly relations are an important contribution to the easing of international tension.

We want to make use of our stay in India to get first-hand acquaintance with the Indian people, their customs and traditions, the results of their endeavours to advance their economy and develop their national industry.

We hope that our meetings with the Indian people and the extension of contacts with Indian statesmen will yield fruit for further strengthening mutual understanding and friendship between our countries.

Allow me to convey our sincere gratitude for your warm, cordial reception.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RALLY IN RAMLILA SQUARE, DELHI
November 19

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Mayor of Delhi,
Our dear friends, men and women of the glorious Indian capital, the wonderful city of Delhi,

Allow me first of all to thank the Indian Government and the esteemed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of Comrade Khrushchov, of our friends accompanying us on our visit, and in my own name, for the kind invitation that has enabled us to visit your great country and to get to know better its talented and hard-working people. (*Applause.*)

Allow me also to thank you all for the warm reception that you have extended us. (*Applause.*) We are deeply moved by this cordial reception and see in it a manifestation of the great Indian people's sincere friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

We convey to you, and through you to the entire 400 million people of India, the hearty greetings and best wishes of all the Soviet people, who feel sincere and disinterested friendship for the peoples of India. (*Applause.*)

The friendly ties between our countries are of long standing and have never been darkened by conflicts or enmity. Friendship between the peoples of our countries started to

grow and develop particularly after the Great October Revolution in our country. (*Applause.*)

Having shaken off their age-old yoke, the Soviet people followed with profound sympathy your selfless struggle to regain national independence. We rejoiced in your successes in the struggle, for we always have been against the oppression of one people by another. (*Applause.*) Our great leader and teacher Vladimir Ilyich Lenin proclaimed the recognition of equality of states, the right of all peoples to self-determination, to national independence as one of the main principles of Soviet foreign policy. (*Applause.*)

Since India has become an independent, sovereign state, new, more favourable opportunities have arisen for the development of friendship between our countries.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of India are now building their relations on a firm and reliable basis, on the principles of respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs on any economic, political or ideological grounds; on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. First proclaimed by India and the Chinese People's Republic, these Five Principles, which you call *Panch Shila*, have been approved by all the peace-loving peoples and are being successfully put into effect by a number of countries. (*Applause.*)

The Government of India has done and is doing much to consolidate peace and ease international tension. (*Applause.*) The Soviet people, which has repeatedly had to defend its country in armed struggle against foreign invaders, knows only too well what countless calamities war brings to peoples and whole-heartedly acclaims the efforts of the Government and people of India towards the preservation and consolidation of peace. (*Applause.*)

Our countries are allies in the international arena, in the great and noble struggle for world peace.

We are particularly pleased to note that both India and the Soviet Union take a consistent and firm stand on the important question of the restoration of the Chinese People's Republic's legitimate rights in the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of our country greatly sympathize with the efforts of the Indian people and their Government to develop their national economy, especially their own industry. (*Applause.*) We have learned from our own experience that only such a policy can ensure the genuine independence of a state which has adopted the line of independent development. You will, of course, have to overcome no small number of difficulties, but we are sure that the industrious and gifted people of India will be able to attain its goal. (*Applause.*) On our part we are ready to share with you our experience in building industrial enterprises, power stations, hydro-developments, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and other achievements.

All the necessary conditions for the development of trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India on the basis of true equality and mutual advantage are now provided.

Relations between our countries are assuming ever greater scope and variety. In addition to economy they also embrace science and culture. This is especially gratifying because a broad cultural exchange, the acquaintance of one people with the cultural treasures of another, brings them closer together and enriches them intellectually. We stand for broad exchange in all spheres of culture and the arts.

India and the Soviet Union have different social and political systems, but our people have much in common and this community strengthens our friendship and makes it

more solid and fruitful not only for India and the Soviet Union but for the whole world. (*Applause.*)

The common features of the Soviet and the Indian peoples are that they are both peace-loving and industrious; they are opposed to racism and colonialism. They actively support the preservation and consolidation of peace, friendship and co-operation of all the countries, national sovereignty and international security. (*Applause.*)

Long live friendship and co-operation between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

Jai Hind!

(*The concluding words of the speech which mean "Long live India" were met with stormy applause and exclamations.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

IN AGRA

November 20

Allow me on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, of the friends accompanying us, and in my own name, to greet you and convey to you our cordial feelings and good wishes. (*Applause.*)

No words could express the sentiments we now feel. We very highly appreciate the evidence of the Indian people's friendship which has been given everywhere during our so far brief stay here.

I can assure you that our people in turn entertain the most sincere friendship for the people of India. (*Stormy applause.*)

You are now in the wonderful spring of national liberation and self-government. But I should like to warn you that freedom and independence can be consolidated only if you are able to develop your industry, machine-building in particular. (*Applause.*)

I do not want to give you advice. I believe that you understand everything very well yourselves.

We have just viewed a wonderful creation of man's labour, a magnificent tomb. When I viewed that monument I had two feelings: the first was admiration for the grandeur of the people, their art, culture, skill which flourished

already many centuries ago. This memorial is the pride of your people.

But I had another feeling too. I could not help thinking how kings and emperors did not spare man's labour, how wastefully they expended it. Erecting such monuments by slave labour, they exhausted the strength and means of the people for the sole purpose of self-glorification. And at that time, apparently, millions of people died of hunger. There you are—wealth on one hand and poverty on the other.

Excuse my digression, I wanted to express the feelings I had at the sight of that monument.

Once again, thank you for the hospitality, for the wonderful gifts you presented us. I express personal gratitude to the Governor and his wife who accompanied us and the representatives of the town authorities. I also thank the members of the reception committee.

We wish you all happiness and success! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT DINNER GIVEN BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
PRIME MINISTER OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA
November 20

Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me first of all to express my sincere gratitude to the esteemed Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mr. Nehru, for the warm sentiments and friendly wishes he has addressed to the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

Throughout the course of history our countries have maintained friendly relations, and our peoples have treated each other with great respect. The peoples of the Soviet Union and India have always found mutual moral support in their struggle for a better future. Their friendship and co-operation have grown particularly firm now that India and the U.S.S.R. have many interests in common in the struggle for peace, for mankind's happiness. Our relations are based on the Five Principles. These principles were enunciated in our Joint Statement with Mr. Nehru last June when we, together with the entire Soviet people, were happy to welcome him in our country. The Soviet Union will firmly adhere to these principles in its relations with India and other peace-loving countries who have either proclaimed or are ready to accept the same principles.

India and the Soviet Union are peace-loving countries. We have different political and social systems, and we have chosen different ways for ensuring the prosperity and happiness of our peoples. But the word "peace" is equally sacred for the peoples of India as it is for the peoples of the Soviet Union. This desire for peace brings us closer together, unites us, and allows us jointly to play an active part in the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The peoples of the world drew a sigh of relief after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, which created hopes of terminating the so-called cold war. The peoples now demand that the governments of all countries in the world should base their relations with other states on the spirit of Geneva.

The Soviet Government received with deep satisfaction the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government and, as is well known, has taken a number of new concrete steps aimed at a further lessening of international tension and promoting confidence between states. The Soviet Government intends to pursue this policy in the future as well, regardless of the difficulties that may arise.

The Summit Conference was followed by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers who were to find ways for settling the questions raised in the Directives of the Four Heads of Government. We exerted much effort in order to attain agreed decisions.

To our great regret, however, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers did not go beyond a frank exchange of views.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has not lost hopes, and it is confident that in the end the Four Powers will find a proper solution to the problems facing them.

We have always been against the "cold war" and do not want it to return. We shall continue our efforts to bring about the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, re-

duction of conventional armaments, creation of a system of collective security in Europe, and the all-round extension of contacts between states.

As regards the German problem, our position has been, and remains, unchanged. Both time and patience are needed to solve this problem. We consider that for the settlement of this problem it is above all necessary to rely on the German people, and our task should be to help them in this matter.

Great historic changes have taken and continue to take place in Asia, the most important countries of which are the People's Republic of China, India, and the Soviet Union. It is of immense significance to world peace that relations between these three countries are based on the solid principles of peaceful co-existence, friendship, and co-operation.

The international prestige of the Republic of India is growing year after year. India is playing an increasingly important role in the discussion and settlement of the problems of Asia, and not merely of Asia. Everyone realizes that the prestige of India is growing not only because she is one of the biggest countries of the world but also because she has consistently and unswervingly championed peace. In this connection we cannot fail to point out the tremendous significance of the Bandung Conference of countries of Asia and Africa, which facilitated the creation of the Bandung spirit, an atmosphere which makes it easier to settle problems bearing on the destinies of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

With the active participation of India, solutions have been found to a number of complicated Asian problems. We are certain that India and her Government, headed by our friend Mr. Nehru, will continue actively to defend peace in Asia and the world at large.

We devoutly hope that our visit to India will serve to promote friendship and co-operation between our countries.

The Soviet Government wishes the Indian people and their leader—a courageous fighter for peace—Jawaharlal Nehru—further success in the building of the new India.

Allow me to propose a toast to Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, and to wish him good health and the best of success in his noble activity for the benefit of universal peace and friendship between our countries.

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT DELHI STATE BOY SCOUT RALLY
November 21

Allow me to greet you on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and the friends who accompany us on this trip through your wonderful country, and on my own behalf. (*Applause.*)

We express especial gratitude to Prime Minister Nehru for his invitation to visit your beautiful country.

We have seen something of your life in this camp. In many ways it reminded us of the camp life of our children, who have an organization of their own, its members being called Young Pioneers. I have been told that you like very much to live in camp. In our country, too, the children who spend the summer in camp greatly enjoy it.

We are very glad to see that you not only rest in this camp but learn to work. That is wonderful. It is only labour that ennobles man and provides him with the means of existence. He who is not engaged in useful work takes no part in what is created by man's genius.

There is one more thing I should like to tell you. When the leader of the Boy Scouts spoke here he thanked us for having come to see you. (*Applause.*) But I would say that this trip is by no means a courtesy on our part, but a necessity. We must strengthen friendly relations between our countries.

Your fathers who won independence for your great country deserve high esteem, and the people give them due credit. Pursuing an independent policy your Government, headed by Mr. Nehru, has established the best relations of friendship with the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) These relations are based chiefly on the joint struggle for the lofty cause of consolidating world peace.

Hence our friendship rests on the strongest foundation (*stormy applause*), and it will develop successfully.

We rejoice at your successes, at every success you achieve. We rejoice, in particular, at your success in fulfilling your first five-year plan. You have now begun to draw up a second five-year plan. This task is of great importance. It has two aspects: the advance of agriculture and the strengthening and development of industry.

Without advance in agriculture the plan for industrial development cannot be fulfilled. In order to build factories and mills it is necessary to have bread, clothing, and whatever else is required for man's living. India has a huge population, and there can be no doubt that her requirements in foodstuffs and first necessities will go on increasing from year to year.

But, on the other hand, the problem of advance in agriculture cannot be solved without industrial development. And machine-building is the life and soul of industrial and agricultural progress. Of course it is interesting to watch an elephant at work, as I have seen it in the cinema. But tractors, automobiles and locomotive engines are stronger and more obedient to man. We have learned this by our own experience; we have no elephants but we used to work with oxen and horses, and when we replaced them by machines things improved a good deal.

Under the second five-year plan you intend to develop your industry. That is very important. We Soviet people

know from our own experience that industrial progress is of enormous importance in all respects. It is especially important to remember that the freedom won must be upheld. To create conditions for the country's complete independence it is necessary to build a firm foundation in the shape of an adequate industry and to rely on it.

In so doing it is important primarily to count on one's own strength, the more so as certain rich countries, rendering aid to others, seek to dominate those who receive the aid.

You are rich by your spirit. And that is worth more than any capital. And if that rich, proud spirit of your people is backed by the development of your national economy, by your own industry, you will become richer still.

Just a few words more. Our Government and your Government are living very harmoniously now. (*Applause.*) To a great extent we attribute this to the activities of your remarkable leader, Mr. Nehru. (*Applause.*)

Having come here we have seen many good slogans inscribed on streamers in the streets of your city. They call "for eternal friendship between India and the U.S.S.R." We are for eternal friendship. (*Stormy applause.*) But we who have established friendship belong to the old generation. Young people! The future is yours. You must continue these established friendly relations (*applause*), strengthen them, and pass them on from generation to generation. (*Stormy applause.*)

That will mark the beginning of the eternal friendship of which you speak so well.

We wish your best dreams to come true. To the adults we wish success in fulfilling the second five-year plan. And to you we wish success in your studies, in training for useful, noble work, in serving your country honestly, in strengthening and protecting it.

We wish you success! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
IN PARLIAMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA
November 21

Honourable Chairman,
Honourable Members,

Allow me in the first place to express my deep gratitude for the opportunity given me to speak from this high rostrum, which I consider a great honour. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the meeting with the citizens of your glorious capital, Delhi, I had the opportunity to convey our gratitude to them and to your Government for the warm and cordial reception accorded to us everywhere. We conveyed the friendly greetings and wishes of the Soviet people to the great people of India. (*Applause.*) I want to say that all of us, your guests, were deeply moved at the sight of the hundreds of thousands of friends greeting us on Ramlila Square. The unanimity, sincerity and power of the feelings manifested revealed to us most convincingly that in the people of India the Soviet people have a loyal and disinterested friend. The Soviet people, on their part, will do all in their power so that this friendship may grow broader and deeper. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The friendship between our peoples dates from the distant past. Nearly five centuries ago, even before the first European



Prime Minister Nehru greets N. A. Bulganin and
N. S. Khrushchov on their arrival in Delhi

In Ramlila Square, Delhi, on November 19. Hundreds of thousands of Indians attended a huge rally in honour of the Soviet guests. N. A. Bulganin addressed the rally







N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov at a reception given by Rajendra Prasad, President of India. They are seen here in the garden of the Presidential Palace

ships came to the shores of your country, the Russian traveller, Afanasy Nikitin, visited India and wrote a book that was an outstanding work for the time about the wonderful country in which he had lived several years and for which he had conceived a warm affection. This was the first "discovery of India" by the Russians.

Relations between our countries gradually became stronger and broader. Books on India began to appear in Russia. The Russian people also gained information and ideas about your country from your wonderful literature. The first translations of works by Indian writers, including those of the great Indian poet and dramatist, Kalidasa, appeared in Russia as far back as the 18th century. (*Applause.*) Translations of the Indian epics subsequently received wide circulation. (*Applause.*)

Contact and mutual understanding between our peoples became closer after the victory in Russia of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The principles of equality and self-determination of nations proclaimed by our revolution met with a broad response in other countries, including India, then under colonial subjugation.

The Soviet people, on their part, sincerely sympathized with the devoted and courageous struggle waged by your people against colonial oppression and for the restoration of the independence of their country. (*Applause.*) We know how greatly important in that struggle were the ideas and guidance of the distinguished leader of the Indian national movement, Mahatma Gandhi. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the Soviet Union there is a tremendous interest in India, its history and culture, the life of its people, and in the reforms being carried out in your country. This is evident in the steadily widening relations between the U.S.S.R. and India in the fields of culture, art, science and sport. Indian films shown in our country and the Indian exhibitions

arranged in Soviet cities have been extremely popular. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are also deeply interested in Indian literature. (*Applause.*) Numerous editions of the talented works of Rabindranath Tagore have been printed in our country, and an edition of his collected works is now appearing. The Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. has put out the works of the famous Indian poet, Tulsi Das. (*Applause.*) Translations have been published of the works of the distinguished writer, Prem Chand, and others. A Russian edition has appeared of Mr. Nehru's *The Discovery of India*, from which Soviet readers have learned much that is new and interesting about your country. (*Applause.*)

The cultural intercourse developing between our countries reveals to the Soviet people all the diversity of your ancient culture, gives them an idea of India's contribution to world civilization, and acquaints them with the modern cultural and scientific attainments of the Indian people. (*Applause.*) There is no need to say how important this is, how it contributes to intellectual enrichment.

Friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India were greatly furthered and strengthened by the visit paid to our country by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whom the Soviet people heartily welcomed. (*Applause.*) Mr. Nehru's visit to the U.S.S.R. was a great and memorable occasion for our people. As a result of his visit, it has become clearer that our countries can learn a great deal from each other and derive no little benefit from co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Co-operation between India and the Soviet Union now has many different sides and, in addition to cultural relations, it embraces the economic sphere, and also the effort to promote peace and ease international tension. On this latter point I should like to dwell in somewhat greater detail.

The era in which we are living is one of great changes and scientific discoveries which pave the way to an unprecedented unfolding of man's cultural and material potentialities. This we must all bear in mind. On the other hand, we must not shut our eyes to the attempts by reactionary forces to reverse the forward march of history, to utilize the discoveries of human genius to the detriment of the peoples, to direct the achievements of science and technology to the destruction of cultural and material values, and to the annihilation of millions of human beings. This lays a very grave responsibility upon the peoples, the parliaments and the governments for the preservation of peace. The Soviet people and the Soviet Government are fully cognizant of this responsibility, and are doing all in their power to safeguard peace and progress. (*Applause.*) We, Soviet people, are deeply gratified by the fact that in this matter the paths of our peoples and our Governments do not diverge. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people highly appreciate India's contribution to the cause of peace. (*Applause.*) It was owing to the joint efforts of India, the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union that a cease-fire was achieved in Korea and the fires of war extinguished in Indo-China. India actively insists that the Chinese People's Republic be accorded its lawful seat in the United Nations. The Government of India advocates a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question with due regard for the national interests and lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic.

India was one of the sponsors of, and played a distinguished role in, the first conference of Asian and African countries. The value of this conference for universal peace and for safeguarding the rights and national interests of the peace-loving peoples of the two continents can hardly be overestimated.

The Soviet Union knows and whole-heartedly approves the stand taken by the Indian Government on the question of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons and reducing conventional armaments, with a view to utilizing for peaceful purposes the immense resources now absorbed by the arms drive.

The people of the Soviet Union entertain a deep respect for the efforts of the Indian Government against the policy of forming aggressive military blocs, and for collective peace and the settlement of international issues by negotiation. (*Applause.*)

Based on the famous Five Principles, Soviet-Indian relations are clear confirmation of the precept that peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation between countries with different social and political systems is possible. This important precept is increasingly winning supporters, and I should like to express the hope that it will be adopted by most of those who now oppose peaceful settlement of international problems by negotiation, and who still strive to conduct their foreign policy from a "position of strength."

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is a policy of international peace and friendship, a policy of active and consistent effort for peace, and against war and all outside interference in the internal affairs of countries. (*Applause.*) We follow the behests of our great teacher, V. I. Lenin, and build our policy on the principle of respect for all nations, on the principle that all peoples have the right to independent national development in accordance with their own wishes and interests. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union holds that aggression in any form is contrary to the conscience and honour of nations, and leads to immense destruction of material values and of the most precious thing on earth—human life. We, therefore, emphatically reject war as a means of settling international

disputes and stand for peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, by negotiation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The joint efforts exerted in this direction by the peace-loving forces, including India and the Soviet Union, have already brought good results, and, in particular, influenced the outcome of the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers. This conference was marked by a spirit of co-operation, and played an important part in easing international tension and restoring confidence among the Four Powers. It prepared the ground for concrete examination by the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers of such questions as disarmament, European security and Germany, and development of East-West contacts.

At the recent conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers, the Soviet Union acted in the spirit of Geneva and strove for agreed decisions on all these issues.

We know that at this time the attention of all mankind is focused, in particular, on the question of disarmament, since the growth of armaments, both of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction, inspires in the peoples deep alarm for their future.

The Soviet Union has always stood for disarmament and complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Applause.*) The Soviet Government has been striving for this for years now, regarding disarmament as the primary object of its foreign policy. The main thing in the problem of disarmament, as we see it, is to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons and to end the arms race.

Prompted by good will and the desire for genuine disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Soviet Union agreed to the proposals made by the Western Powers at the beginning of this year concerning levels of armed forces for the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France, and also

concerning the time when complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons shall enter into force. The Western Powers declared that they could not agree to prohibition of nuclear weapons until conventional weapons had been reduced to the extent of 75 per cent of the agreed reductions. We accepted this proposal too.

What is more, adhering to the rule that actions speak louder than words, the Soviet Government decided to reduce its armed forces by 640,000 men, and today this decision has in the main been carried out, which is a very real contribution towards establishing confidence among the nations.

Our proposals envisage an effective system of control of reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, including the establishment of control posts in the countries concerned with the object of preventing surprise attack by one state on another. It is perfectly clear to us that settlement of the question of control must be linked with the chief question, disarmament. Attempts to settle the question of control of disarmament without disarmament itself, are contrary to common sense and to the aspirations of the peoples.

It is greatly to be regretted that our efforts to break the deadlock on the question of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons have so far not led to positive results. In point of fact, the United States, Great Britain and France have rejected what they themselves proposed at the beginning of this year. It should be noted that on the question of disarmament, the Western Powers are moving backward, retiring from their former position, and that their new proposals throw back disarmament at least ten years.

Despite the new difficulties the Soviet Government will continue to work for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen

weapons and settlement of the disarmament problem.
(*Prolonged applause.*)

Gentlemen, I should also like to make a few observations on the question of European security. Europe lies a long way from India, but it is an area of the world where developments in the past several centuries have exerted an influence on the whole world. We have only to recall that the first and second world wars began in Europe.

All nations are alarmed, and understandably so, by the fact that there are military alliances in Europe, and that in a number of European countries there are foreign forces and military bases. Mr. Nehru has repeatedly pointed out that the policy of forming military blocs leads not to peace and relaxation of international tension, but to strained relations between states and, in the final analysis, to war. You know that we hold the same view. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Government is opposed to the policy of forming military blocs, and favours the liquidation of the blocs already formed. We have proposed the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe, with the participation of all European countries and the United States of America. This proposal, which we put forward already last year, was opposed by the Western Powers on the plea that it would destroy the North-Atlantic bloc, which, it was alleged, was formed for purely defensive purposes. But when we signified our desire to join NATO, the Western Powers would not have us, thereby confirming the falseness of their claim that NATO is a defensive alliance, and showing that it is an exclusive, aggressive combination.

In view of these circumstances, and also of the conclusion of the Paris Agreements integrating the German Federal Republic into the North-Atlantic bloc, the Soviet Government and the Governments of other East-European states were forced to adopt additional measures to safeguard their

security and, in the spring of this year, signed the Warsaw Treaty.

The conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty was an enforced act, necessitated by the attitude of the Western Powers, and we are prepared to renounce it as soon as a European security system is established and the Western Powers give up their North-Atlantic treaty and the Paris Agreements.

The policy of forming and expanding military alliances, and of establishing or retaining bases on foreign territories, does not make for international confidence, and is an obstacle to the peaceful development of nations. Taking this into account, the Soviet Union has relinquished its bases at Port Arthur, on Chinese territory, and at Porkkala Udd, on Finnish territory, and now has no military bases whatever on foreign territory. (*Applause.*) If certain other powers which have military bases in foreign countries followed the example of the Soviet Union, that would be a weighty contribution to further relaxation of international tension and would back the spirit of Geneva with concrete actions. (*Applause.*)

But here too, unfortunately, we observe an unwillingness on the part of certain circles to adhere to the spirit of Geneva in their practical activity. This is attested, in particular, by the attempts to expand and strengthen the notorious "defence" treaty organization in Southeast Asia, in which non-Asian countries are mainly represented, and by the formation of a military bloc in the Middle East, on the borders of India and the Soviet Union. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government considers it its duty to be particularly vigilant with regard to the manoeuvres of the enemies of peace and international co-operation.

One of the important issues, indisputably, is the German problem: will Germany develop into a peaceful and democratic state having nothing to do with military blocs, or

will she take the course of resurrecting militarism and participating in the military combinations of the Western Powers? The interests of peace in Europe and the world demand that a united Germany take the former course, the course of peaceful and democratic development. It is these interests which determine the attitude of the Soviet Union to the German question.

We also base ourselves on the actual fact that two German states have arisen in the past ten years—the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic which have different social systems. In our opinion, the settlement of the German problem is primarily a matter for the German people themselves, and it is the duty of the Great Powers to assist them to reunite Germany along lines of peaceful and democratic development. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has proposed the establishment of an All-German Council, a body which might co-ordinate the efforts of the two existing German states in the political, economic and cultural affairs of the German people, and also in respect to co-operation with other countries in promoting peace. All this would help to create the conditions for a settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany through free elections, in accordance with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security.

In the past half year the Soviet Union has taken a number of new and important steps to facilitate creation of an atmosphere of confidence and promotion of peace in Europe. The Soviet Union re-established, and is effectively developing, friendly relations with Yugoslavia. A state treaty was concluded with Austria, which has adopted the status of perpetual neutrality. Agreement was reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic. A treaty was concluded on

relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, which reaffirmed the sovereign rights of the G.D.R. These measures of the Soviet Government speak for themselves. (*Applause.*)

A feature of our time is the profound changes taking place in the political situation in Asia and the entire East. There is a grand historical process of awakening of the peoples of the East to active political life. This process is in full swing, and there is no power that can halt it. True, there are some who would shut their eyes to the great historical changes now under way in the East. But they are there and, what is more, they are exerting, and are bound to exert, an immense influence on international affairs.

The present international situation in Asia is beset by a number of problems whose solution will call for strenuous effort. A problem that evokes disquiet, for instance, is that of securing a political settlement in Indo-China in keeping with the decisions of the 1954 conference in Geneva. The Soviet Union will strive unflaggingly for the carrying out of these decisions. (*Applause.*)

Thus, gentlemen, the foreign policies of our countries have much in common. In the final analysis, we are striving for one object, namely, to lessen international tension, to preserve and strengthen peace, to avert war and save mankind from its horrors, to enable the peoples to work in tranquillity and relish the joys of peace. What could be more noble than this? I think you will all agree that this lofty aim is worth working for with rolled up sleeves, as we say in our country, and sparing no effort. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We also have much in common in respect to the problems posed by the internal life of our countries.

When our people carried out the October Revolution they set themselves the task of reconstructing their country economically and culturally, of converting it into an indus-

trial socialist country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people have successfully accomplished this momentous task.

You are going your own way. But you, too, are faced with the problem of converting your country, now that it has for ever thrown off colonial rule, into an advanced state, with a developed national economy and a sufficiently high standard of living. The Soviet people fully understand and sincerely sympathize with your efforts for the accomplishment of these tasks. (*Applause.*)

In our opinion, all the conditions now exist for further extending Soviet-Indian co-operation in the economic and cultural spheres, and also in scientific and technical research. We are ready to share with you our economic, scientific and technical experience. (*Applause.*) This accords with the wishes and aspirations of our people. The necessary conditions have also been created for extending trade between our countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All that we have seen in the first days of our stay in India confirms our deep conviction that the further development of relations between our countries rests on a firm foundation of common and many-sided interests. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May friendship and co-operation between our peace-loving countries broaden and develop in the interest of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union, and in the interest of preserving and consolidating world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN PARLIAMENT OF REPUBLIC OF INDIA
November 21

Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Members,

Allow me to thank you cordially for the honour of addressing the Parliament of the Republic of India.
(*Applause.*)

We have come to your country, on the kind invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to pay a friendly return visit, so that we may personally attest our deep respect and express the sincere sympathy of the Soviet people for the friendly people of India, and acquaint ourselves with their life and work. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are glad to greet you and to convey the warm greetings of the Soviet people to the great freedom-loving and talented Indian people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The warm and cordial welcome we have received from the Indian people surpassed our expectations. We interpret the sincere delight and friendship your people express when meeting our delegation as a reward to the peoples of the Soviet Union for their disinterested and sincere attitude to all nations, big and small. (*Applause.*) We credit the feelings of affection which the Indian people express with such fervour to the active support given by the Soviet Union to peoples

struggling against colonial slavery, and to our efforts for lasting and stable peace throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

When we visit historical places, and when we meet with the hospitable citizens of India, we often hear, and read, the splendid words: "The Indian and Soviet peoples are brothers!" (*Applause.*)

These words accord with all our wishes and all our work. So it is today, and so, dear friends, it will be for ever. Our peoples are brothers in spirit and in all their aspirations. (*Stormy applause.*)

Here, under the roof of your Parliament, I should like to point out that friendship between our peoples has been developing for centuries, and never has it been marred by conflicts or quarrels. (*Applause.*)

And now, when India has acquired political, national independence, the bonds of amity between our countries grow stronger from day to day, which accords with the vital interests of our peoples, and is in line with the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by India and China. (*Applause.*) These principles are now espoused by countries inhabited by a large part of humanity, including the great Indian, Chinese and Soviet peoples. (*Applause.*)

For many centuries India held the status of a colony. Your wonderful country, which has made so big a contribution to human culture, was condemned by the colonialists to the existence of a vassal. The Soviet people have always deeply sympathized with the struggle of the Indian people for national independence, because, they themselves in the past had suffered much grief and oppression at the hands of alien conquerors.

Our wise teacher, V. I. Lenin, wrote as far back as 1923 that Russia, India, China and other countries, which together embrace the vast majority of the population of the globe, were being drawn with extraordinary rapidity into a

struggle for emancipation, and he predicted that this struggle would end in victory. These were truly prophetic words which developments have fully confirmed.

We are living at a time when a momentous change has taken place in the life of many nations, when the colonial system, under the mighty blows of the national-liberation movement, is breaking up. (*Applause.*)

Victories of historic importance have been won by the great Chinese people, and they are now effectively building a new and free life. All progressive men and women hailed the national independence won by the great Indian people. The peoples of Indonesia, Burma and other countries have thrown off alien rule. The inhabitants of these countries constitute more than half the human race. All the attempts of the colonialists to divert the peoples of these countries from the path they have chosen are doomed to fail.

India's conquest of state sovereignty and national independence is a momentous thing. The Soviet people note with deep satisfaction and pleasure that the path of free and independent development is opening before the peoples of India. By developing their independent state they will be able to raise their standard of living and cultural level and promote the economic progress of their country. The accomplishment of these great tasks depends on the Indians themselves.

The Soviet people fully understand the desire of the Indian people for stable and durable peace, for only in conditions of peace can these aims be achieved. (*Applause.*)

The course of social development shows that every country, if it is really to become independent and promote the welfare of its people, must have a developed economy independent of foreign capital. Experience teaches that the efforts of the colonialists to subjugate an economically weaker country may take the most diverse forms. They seek in every way

to retard the development of its home industry, for they fear that, by creating an industry and an intelligentsia of its own, and raising the living standards of its people, the formerly subjected country may become stronger and be able to develop independently. (*Applause.*)

We hail the perspicacity of India's statesmen, who understand this, who see where lies the source of possible danger to the independence of India and are working to avert it.

We sincerely wish you to have a powerful home industry, that your country may develop science, culture and education, and that success and happiness may always attend the people of India. In saying this, we are guided by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who held that the people of every country are entitled to live as they wish, without interference by other countries in their affairs.

We are often accused of trying to export ideas of communism to other countries, and many other absurd things are said of us. Any attempt by an oppressed people to throw off the yoke of alien conquest is attributed to incitement from Moscow. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Following their chosen path of socialism, the Soviet people have achieved great progress in their development. But we have never attempted to force our ideas of social reconstruction on anyone. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why are fabrications about the Soviet Union put into circulation, and by whom? They are sponsored by reactionary elements in order, by lying fables about a communist menace, to frighten people and whip up war hysteria. They want the least amount of truth about our country to penetrate to the masses, because the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is devastating to the forces of reaction, to the colonialists, to those who want to perpetuate the enslavement of nations by other nations, the exploitation of the labour of others. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The truth is that only with the coming of Soviet government, government by the workers and peasants, did the peoples of our country—the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanians and others—acquire genuine freedom to develop their economy and their national culture, and were able to give free rein to their creative energies.

The Soviet Union is a firmly cemented multi-national state, comprising sixteen equal Republics, each having its own developed national economy, and its own distinctive national culture. In our country we strictly observe full equality of rights of all citizens, irrespective of nationality or race. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of citizens or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of race or nationality is punishable by law. All the peoples of our country constitute one harmonious family. The friendship among our peoples is one of the powerful sources of strength of our Soviet state.

In order to give a fuller idea of what the Soviet people have accomplished since the overthrow of tsarism, the following figures might be cited. Compared with 1913, gross industrial output in the U.S.S.R. in 1955 has increased 27-fold (*applause*), output of means of production, 60-fold (*applause*), production of articles of consumption, 11-fold (*applause*), production of electric power, 86-fold (*applause*), production of machinery, more than 160-fold. (*Applause.*)

Besides developing industry, the Soviet Government devotes much attention to agriculture. Our peasants, united in collective farms, and with the aid of machinery, have achieved considerable success in increasing agricultural output.

The Soviet Union is now a highly developed industrial power, and is on the same level of economic development as the most technically advanced capitalist countries.

All the world acknowledges that our country has made tremendous cultural progress. If, before the October Revolution, 76 per cent of the inhabitants of tsarist Russia were illiterate, already before the Second World War illiteracy in our country had in the main been abolished. This year, nearly 35 million pupils are attending primary, seven-year, secondary and adult schools, labour reserves schools and technical schools. Over 1,700,000 students are enrolled in our universities and institutes.

Already in the early years of Soviet rule mass schools were organized in our country, and workers' faculties instituted, in which sometimes even semi-literate workers and peasants enrolled, studied persistently and received a secondary, and then a higher education. Now we have a wonderful intelligentsia, a genuinely people's intelligentsia. More than 5,500,000 specialists, people with specialized higher or secondary education, are working in the national economy of the Soviet Union. We have some 217,000 general schools, 3,796 technical schools and other specialized secondary educational establishments, and 798 universities and institutes. In the U.S.S.R., the conditions have been created for the introduction of universal secondary (ten-year) education within the next few years.

Our country, of course, is not yet a paradise. There are many shortcomings. But we are aware of them, and are doing everything we can to remove them as quickly as possible.

In talking with people from other countries, and when reading the foreign press, one often meets with incorrect ideas about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., I should like to dwell a little on this question.

Yes, many legends are spread about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And this is not surprising, because our Party organizes and unites the masses for the

building of an entirely new society—a communist society, one fundamentally different from the old, capitalist society.

I think you will not suspect me of indulging in propaganda. (*Laughter and applause.*) We consider that ideas are a matter of the conscience, the outlook not only of each nation, but of each individual. After all, there are people in our country who do not belong to the Communist Party. The Communist Party has 8 million members, and the Young Communist League nearly 18.5 million members, as against the 200 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union. (*Animation.*) Consequently, very far from all in our country are members of the Party or the Young Communist League, and, what is more, that is not our object. But all the people of our country are united around the Communist Party, and rightly regard it as their organizer and leader. In our country, the people and the Party are inseparable.

Ideas and convictions are the personal affair of each individual. In the U.S.S.R., Communists and non-Communists, atheists and believers work jointly and harmoniously for the good of the people. Freedom of worship is recognized for all citizens. Freedom of conscience and religious faith is not only proclaimed, it is strictly guaranteed by the state as a constitutional right of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*) Among the Soviet citizens are Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, Baptists and people of other denominations.

Our great teacher, Lenin, who deeper and better than anyone understood the laws of development of modern society, founded the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, as the most advanced section of the peoples of Russia. Appreciating the gigantic power of the working class and the labouring masses generally, he aroused them for the decisive attack on the slave, feudal and capitalist

order of things which fettered the peoples of Russia. Lenin did this not only for the sake of the freedom and happiness of the peoples of our country. He knew that it would benefit the peoples of other countries.

The Great October Revolution ushered in a new era in the life of mankind. As Jawaharlal Nehru says in his book, *The Discovery of India*: "The Soviet revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered. (*Applause.*) It had laid the foundations for that 'new civilization' toward which the world would advance." We fully agree with these words.

It has been said that there was much unnecessary sacrifice of life in that revolution. But that is not true. The October Socialist Revolution was the most bloodless of the great revolutions. (*Applause.*) Having taken the power into its own hands, the working class did not blindly punish those who had wronged and oppressed it for ages. More, in the first months after the October Revolution, it released on their word of honour many reactionary tsarist generals, who then perfidiously broke their pledges and took up the sword against their people. The Soviet republic needed peace, and Lenin and the workers' and peasants' government proclaimed peace.

But a bloody struggle was forced upon us. It was not of our choosing. After all, it is not propaganda but an historical fact that the armies of the French, British, American, Japanese and other invaders, armed to the teeth, were hurled against Soviet Russia.

The war thus imposed on us caused incalculable losses. But, I repeat, it was not we that chose it. We were attacked, they sought to strangle the Soviet state, to tear our country to pieces.

And, is it not to the credit of Lenin, to the credit of the Communist Party, to the credit of all our people, that we

did not bow our heads and capitulate to the superior forces of an enemy armed to the teeth? The working class and all the peoples of our multi-national country rallied around their collective leader, the Communist Party, and rose in a sacred patriotic war. The enemy was shattered, and the Soviet state firmly established itself as the mighty power of the liberated peoples. (*Applause.*)

Having won the longed-for peace, the Soviet people, with inexhaustible energy, addressed themselves to the peaceful reconstruction of their country, in which they achieved outstanding success. Engaged in peaceful labours, we knew that the forces of reaction had not quietened down. Fearing the very existence of the Soviet country, where the people enjoy the fruits of their labour, our enemies let loose against our country the mad dog of Hitler fascism. How the fascist invasion ended is well known. Nazism, that formidable menace to free mankind, was crushed, and Hitler has long since mouldered in his grave.

The Second World War caused tremendous damage to our country. Here, too, the Soviet people, inspired by the Communist Party, did not retreat in face of the difficulties. They have fully repaired the ravages of the war. And now, with unparalleled energy, the people are building new mills and factories, and the biggest hydro-electric stations in the world.

I say this not because I want to foist upon you the Soviet path of development, but in order that you may have a better idea of the difficult path our people have travelled. But it is a noble path, and advancing along it our people have registered tremendous gains and achievements. We have in this period acquired great experience. And if you want in any degree to utilize the experience we have achieved in this or that branch of economy or culture, we shall readily, amicably and disinterestedly share it with you and

give you all possible assistance. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Our people are absorbed in a gigantic task of construction. The Soviet Union is now engaged on a programme envisaging a swift advance in all branches of the national economy, in order to promote the economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union and a continued rise in the living standards of its people.

We are gladdened and inspired only by peaceful work. We strive tirelessly for peace and peaceful relations between countries. It must however be said that we do not always meet with proper response and support from a number of other countries in the work of strengthening peace.

We stand for the fullest development of international trade and cultural intercourse. All the world knows of the Soviet Government's efforts for relaxation of international tension. We stand for peace and for the peaceful co-existence of states, regardless of their internal social systems. This is corroborated by all our country's foreign policy measures.

An important international event was the Conference of the Four Heads of Government in Geneva, which resulted in a certain easing of international tension. In pursuance of the Directives of the Four Heads of Government, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of these countries recently took place in Geneva. But it did not achieve any great results, because the Ministers were confronted with very complicated problems which cannot be solved at one conference. We are confident, however, that if we adhere to the course charted by the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, we shall achieve further relaxation of international tension, and shall move forward step by step to the settlement of all complicated international problems.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are some who cannot stomach the spirit of Geneva. Certain elements

in some countries are still trying to carry on the notorious "positions of strength" policy, the policy of holding up the threat of atomic weapons, which is a disgrace to modern civilization.

After the Second World War, the reactionary elements sought to frighten us with the atomic bomb and hold us in subjection. But, as you know, nothing came of this. Soviet scientists discovered the secret of producing atomic energy. (*Applause.*) In order to frustrate the aggressive designs of certain bellicose foreign leaders, we were compelled to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs ourselves. But having produced these weapons, we declared there and then that we did not want them ever to be used. The Soviet Union was the first in the world to place atomic energy at the service of peaceful development. We have made proposals for the prohibition of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and for a solemn undertaking by the governments not to employ these weapons. But so far the Western Powers have not agreed to these proposals.

The forces of reaction are doing all in their power to disrupt peace. But we are convinced that victory will be on the side of the peoples and individuals who desire peace, for peace among the nations is the dream of all progressive men and women. We are glad that in this we have such a fine ally as India. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people and the people of other countries highly appreciate the big contribution made by the Indian people and their Government to the effort for peace, the effort to eliminate the threat of another war. India worked actively for ending the wars in Korea and Indo-China. (*Prolonged applause.*) Despite the obstacles raised, India continues to discharge the difficult, but honourable international

duty of supervising observance of the armistice terms in Korea and Viet-Nam.

There are still many complex and unsolved problems in the present-day world. Much effort, perseverance and patience will be required to preserve and consolidate peace, but we have firm faith in the triumph of this noble cause.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Members,

We may note with satisfaction that the economic and cultural ties between our countries have lately become considerably stronger. (*Prolonged applause.*) There are good prospects for extending mutually beneficial economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and India, and this will help to bring our peoples still closer together. Trade is successfully developing on the basis of the Soviet-Indian Trade Agreement signed in 1953. (*Applause.*) We believe that an important contribution to the strengthening of our economic ties is the agreement concluded this year, providing for the construction in India, with the help of the Soviet Union, of an iron and steel works which will produce a million tons of steel annually. (*Applause.*) Soviet workers and engineers have undertaken with great enthusiasm the fulfilment of the orders connected with this project. We attach great importance to personal contact between leaders of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. The visit of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to the Soviet Union has left a deep impression on the minds of the Soviet people. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Soviet people display tremendous interest in India's rich and ancient culture. Many works by Indian writers have been translated into Russian. The splendid productions of India's great writer and public figure, Rabindranath Tagore, enjoy great popularity in our country. (*Applause.*) Books by modern Indian writers are read with unflagging interest by our people. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the period of Soviet

rule, Indian literary works have been published in the Soviet Union in a total of more than two million copies. (*Applause.*) Russian translations have been made of the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, who had such a thorough knowledge of his country and its great people, and who played such a big part in your history. (*Prolonged applause.*) *The Discovery of India*, the book by the distinguished statesman and political leader, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, has been published in a large edition. (*Applause.*)

We stand for all-round and broad exchange in the sphere of culture and art, and for exchange of technical and scientific achievements. The Soviet people are always glad to see Indian friends in their country. (*Applause.*) The better we know each other and help each other, the firmer will be our friendship, and the stronger will be the forces of peace throughout the world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me to thank you for the warm and friendly welcome you and your hospitable people have accorded our delegation. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish the friendly people of India happiness and prosperity. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great people of India! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY C. P. N. SINGH,
GOVERNOR OF STATE OF PUNJAB
November 22

Replying to the speech of welcome by C. P. N. Singh, Governor of the State of Punjab, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin expressed deep gratitude for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded them. He noted that the hospitality of the Punjabis was a stirring demonstration of the friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. "The attitude of the Punjabis towards us," he continued, "deeply moved us and carried us, in our mind's eye, home, where we should like to tell the Soviet people how affectionately we are being welcomed in India. Our two countries are separated by high mountains, by vast expanses, but our friendship knows no barriers. It is not hindered either by the mountains or the expanses." (*Applause.*) To a fresh outburst of applause N. A. Bulganin said in Hindi, "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*" (Indians and Russians are brothers!) Emphasizing that he and N. S. Khrushchov had been particularly pleased by their inspection of the Bhakra-Nangal construction project that day, N. A. Bulganin proposed a toast to the great people of India and to Soviet Indian friendship.

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY C. P. N. SINGH,
GOVERNOR OF STATE OF PUNJAB

November 22

“Friends,

“We have already been a number of days in your remarkable country. Indeed, we have had so many interesting impressions and meetings that I have lost count of the days. We have met a great number of people. We have seen many of the fine things created by the people of India. (*Applause.*) We have had the opportunity of seeing both ancient temples and projects under construction. But the most valuable thing of all for us is the friendship shown us everywhere. (*Applause.*)

“Your Prime Minister Nehru visited us not long ago and he was given a warm welcome. We, in the Soviet Union, have a very high opinion of him, and the reason for our high opinion is that he realizes the importance of friendship between our countries and of our common struggle to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

“We have different political outlooks, you have your outlooks and your philosophy, we have ours. What is the use of finding out now what points we differ on? The important thing is to see that we are at one on the main thing (*applause*), the question of war and peace. This is a question on which no man can be indifferent. No honest person can help wishing

for peace and fighting for it. (*Applause.*) And we are looking for friends in the struggle for peace, no matter how great or small the states they belong to, no matter what their political outlooks, races or creeds may be. The important thing is that there should be a common desire to strengthen peace. It is each country's domestic affair what system of government it has. And political views are each man's own concern. That is why we ask others not to interfere in our internal affairs and do not allow ourselves to interfere in anybody else's. (*Applause.*)

"The Five Principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by Prime Minister Nehru and our friend Chou En-lai satisfy us completely. (*Applause.*) We confirmed this in the Statement which Mr. Nehru signed with us when he was in Moscow.

"As for problems of political structure, our views are quite definite and clear-cut, but we have no intention of imposing them on others. Economic construction and technology are another matter, they are international problems.

"Nikolai Alexandrovich was right when he said here that it was a pleasure for us to see the power station construction shown to us today. It was a greater pleasure to see the men, their eager eyes and the enthusiasm with which they work.

"We were particularly glad that it was the building of a power station that our friends showed us. This is a fight against the elements, a fight to harness nature and to make it serve man. To accomplish this task is especially important to the Indian people who have been lagging behind economically not through their own fault, but through the fault of others; I am not going to be more explicit, you know who it is that I mean and they will know themselves. (*Applause.*)

"We have said already that we are willing to share our experience in peaceful construction with you. But some newspapers, voicing the views of those who are displeased

by our trip to India, have been saying that Khrushchov and Bulganin are cunning and can deceive India with their promises of technical aid, and that the Indians would do well to be on their guard. (*Laughter.*)

“Here is what we say to those who write such things: perhaps you want to compete with us in friendship with the Indians? All right, we agree. (*Applause.*) What have we come here with? We have come to you with open hearts (*applause*), and honest intentions. (*Applause.*) We say to you: You want to build industrial establishments? We are glad to hear it. Perhaps you have not enough experience? Ask us, we will help you. (*Applause.*) You want to build power stations? If the task is new to you or if you want technical assistance, ask us, we will help you. (*Applause.*) You want to send your students and engineers to us for training? Do so, by all means. (*Applause.*)

“Well, that’s our ‘cunning’—see that we don’t deceive you now, as some people are writing. (*Laughter, applause.*) We should very much like other countries to show the same ‘cunning.’ It is better to compete in this field than in the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs. (*Stormy applause.*) This is a nobler occupation.

“We are not at all worried by the scribblings and broadcasts of people who want to set us at loggerheads. They talk, write, and broadcast speeches, but it all goes in at one ear and out at the other. (*Applause.*) People are now in the habit of judging by deeds rather than by words. (*Applause.*) And when we meet Indians, although we do not know their language, we read friendship in their eyes.” (*Applause.*)

N. S. Khrushchov closed his speech with a toast to firmer Indo-Soviet friendship and the health of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

Then the Maharaja of Patiala presented gifts to N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov—two ancient sabres with

silver and gold designs. "May these swords serve peace," the Maharaja said. N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchov thanked the Maharaja for the precious gift and handed him presents made by Soviet handicraftsmen.

Thanking the Maharaja for the gift, N.S. Khrushchov said: "I shall treasure this gift as a symbolic souvenir of friendship. Here is what I thought as I looked at this splendid sword: When a baby is born, we Soviet people say, it needs good care. If it is left without care, defenceless, unlooked after, it will die. It must be cared for and defended until it is able to defend itself. I like the way you look after trees. When they are small you carefully fence them off so that the wind will not break them, or a careless foot tread upon them. Once the tree has grown up it needs no more fencing. A tall and strong tree fears neither wind nor storm. That is true of a state too. Our state came into being 38 years ago. It was still weak, and could hardly keep on its legs, and then fourteen countries fell upon it all at once. The British took up arms against us. I hope the British journalists here present will excuse me. But you cannot get away from it, it is an historical fact. The Americans, the French and the Japanese crusaded against us. What were we to do? Sit back with folded arms? That is not what our people did. They unsheathed their swords and rose to defend their new-born state. We fought well. We drove out the invaders and said to them: Don't try war on us again. There was a Russian prince who said a long, long time ago: He who comes to us with a sword shall perish by the sword. That is the rule we keep to now. We welcome guests and treat them well. But anybody wishing to come to us with a sword, as an enemy, would do well to remember what happened to Hitler; the same will happen to any enemy. (*Applause.*)

"I do not want to give you any advice, but I cannot refrain from the question: how long was India under the sway

of colonialists? For centuries. You are determined, of course, to maintain your freedom and independence. I will tell you what I know from our own experience: there are some who look at us with envious eyes and wonder how they could smash us. We, of course, should like our bombs and shells to remain unused for ever. We would prefer to produce tractors and other useful things. But what would happen to us if we were disarmed? We would certainly be torn to pieces and then our grandsons would say: Lenin was a great man who properly understood the interests of the people. Under his leadership Soviet rule was established and the Soviet state created, but posterity failed to uphold their freedom and independence. We are upholding our freedom as a sacred thing so that this may never happen. We cannot do without it. You, too, must guard what you have won in a hard struggle.

“That is what we sincerely wish you.” (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT AIRFIELD IN BOMBAY
November 23

Dear friends,

We heartily thank you for your friendly and warm reception. Nikita Sergeyevich and I, and all the friends who have come with us are happy to greet the citizens of the glorious city of Bombay.

We are well familiar with the history of your remarkable city where the beginning was laid for the organized movement of the Indian people to regain their national independence. Your city is known as a world transport and industrial centre, as a centre of national culture and science.

We know very well what an important part your remarkable city is playing in the economic and cultural development of the Republic. That is why we are especially glad to visit the glorious city of Bombay, to make the acquaintance of its inhabitants and to learn of their achievements in the economic, cultural and scientific fields.

We are very glad to be able to convey, in person, friendly, ardent greetings from the peoples of the Soviet Union to the residents of Bombay.

Once again we thank you, dear friends, for your warm and friendly welcome.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RALLY IN BOMBAY
November 23

Mr. Mayor,
Dear friends,

Allow me on my own behalf, on behalf of Comrade Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov and the friends who have come with us to India, and on behalf of the many millions of Soviet people to convey ardent greetings to you. Our hearty thanks to you, the many thousands of citizens of this wonderful city who have come here to express their friendly feelings of love to the representatives of the Soviet people. Such a welcome is striking evidence of the fact that in your great city the Soviet Union has many good friends who appreciate the friendship between our peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

The name of the city of Bombay is well known to Soviet men and women. We know it as a big modern city, as a major industrial centre, as an important seat of science and culture, and, lastly, as one of the world's biggest ports. The glory of Bombay throughout many generations has been created by the intensive labour of the ordinary Indian working men. It is they who have built its factories and mills, railways, beautiful edifices. It is they who have worked and are working at industrial establishments producing goods generally known beyond the bounds of India.



The Soviet delegation arrives at the Bhakra-Nangal construction project, one of the largest in India

At the Tata factory in Bombay on November 24



N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov addressed the Indian Parliament on November 21. This picture shows Bulganin delivering his speech







In memory of their visit
to the Aarey Milk Colony
N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov
each planted an almond tree there



Bombay is one of the centres of the creative endeavours of the Indian people, their national pride. Here the Indian people have demonstrated with special clarity that they, like other peoples of Asia, are successfully mastering the highest achievements of world culture and science, are building up a modern industry and developing modern means of communication.

Your city played a considerable part in the Indian national liberation movement which enabled India to rid herself of colonial oppression and gain long-awaited freedom. The Soviet people always followed that struggle of the Indian people with great attention and sympathy. As early as 1908 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our leader and the founder of our socialist state, uttered prophetic words about the inevitable crash of the colonial regime in India. His remarkable words have come true.

India is now an independent country. Her people are in a position to shape their destiny as they wish. The significance of this goes far beyond the bounds of India. It reflects the great changes now taking place in Asia, where the colonial regimes forced on the peoples from outside are collapsing. We are glad to observe the great constructive work in which the Indian people are engaged. You have set yourselves a very important aim, namely, to make your country economically independent.

Our Soviet people know from their own experience how tremendously important it is to achieve that aim. The Soviet Union fully sympathizes with the legitimate desire of the people of India to gain economic independence and is prepared to co-operate with India in the sphere of economic development. We are in favour of expanding economic intercourse with India, of extending trade between our countries, of exchanging scientific and technical achievements, and of constructive and mutually beneficial co-operation.

In its foreign policy the Government of the U.S.S.R. invariably follows the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems which was put forward by the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of further relaxing world tension, promoting confidence among states in the interests of adjusting and settling international problems through negotiations, and ensuring universal security and a firm and lasting peace. The Soviet Union actively advocates broad international co-operation, the expansion of economic, scientific, technical and cultural contacts between all countries whatever their social systems.

The Soviet people are deeply satisfied to note that the peoples of India are in the vanguard of the champions of peaceful co-existence. It was India which first proclaimed the *Panch Shila*, the Five Principles of peaceful co-operation among countries. (*Stormy applause.*) One cannot fail to pay particular tribute in this connection to the outstanding role of that distinguished political leader, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose name is closely associated with the struggle of the peoples for peace, for translating into life the principles of peaceful co-existence among nations. The Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, is quite right in pointing out that co-existence is the only wise possibility for all countries, for the only other alternative would be mutual annihilation. In this connection I wish to say that the Government of the U.S.S.R. deeply respects the position of the Government of India, which has come out for the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons, the removal of the threat of another war and the settlement of all international problems through negotiations, and against the formation of aggressive military blocs. The Soviet people are well aware of the Indian Government's

efforts to achieve a further easing of world tension and a strengthening of peace.

The Soviet people welcome India's contribution to peace and to the settlement of the outstanding problems of Asia. It was through the combined efforts of the People's Republic of China, India and the Soviet Union that the wars in Korea and Indo-China were ended. (*Stormy applause.*) The Soviet Union and India are working jointly for the People's Republic of China to be granted its rightful seat in the United Nations. The Government of India advocates a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question with due regard for the national interests of the Chinese people. India was one of the sponsors of the first Asian and African conference in Bandung, which is of outstanding significance for strengthening world peace and guaranteeing the rights and interests of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The fact that the interests of the Soviet Union and India in preserving and strengthening world peace coincide predetermines the friendly co-operation of our countries on many international problems. This is in line with our common interest in providing the necessary conditions for the prosperity of our countries.

We have something to learn from each other in the field of science. Indian science has an ancient history. It has given the world a number of eminent scientists whose discoveries have enriched world science and culture. Your science maintains these good traditions today, too.

Many foreign scientists come to the Soviet Union. Scientists of your city, which is one of the country's leading scientific centres, have also visited us.

We believe that our Soviet scientists, on their part, can learn many useful things in India. Such exchange of scientific achievements and scientific co-operation are very useful both for your scientists and for ours.

Living and working in your city, which is one of the leading cultural centres, are, for instance, many well-known writers and workers in the arts who are known and loved in the Soviet Union. Bombay is the centre of India's film industry. Several Indian films made in Bombay have been shown in the Soviet Union. Soviet audiences liked them very much. This fact alone shows what an important role your city can play in promoting cultural interchange between our countries, for which we have vast and as yet unused opportunities. This interchange will contribute to still closer friendship between our countries, our peoples.

In conclusion, allow me to wish success to your city and state, to your great people. That is the wish of the entire Soviet people, who love and value their Indian friends. (*Applause.*) It is with attention and joy that the Soviet people are following the Indian people's battle for peace and their efforts in building a new life, and the friendship of our great peoples is a firm bulwark of world peace. Let us, then, preserve and strengthen this great friendship. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT RALLY IN BOMBAY

November 23

Ladies and gentlemen, friends,

Allow me to express from this rostrum my sincere gratitude to Prime Minister Nehru, the leaders of the State of Bombay and the Mayor of the city of Bombay for the hospitality they have accorded us. (*Applause.*) Allow me to thank all of you who have come here to meet us. Allow me to thank also all the citizens of Bombay who came out today to welcome us and who, I saw it in their eyes, were so sincere in expressing their sentiments towards us, towards the Soviet Union, towards our people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Words cannot express the warm feelings with which our hearts overflow in these days of friendly meetings with the Indian people. (*Applause.*)

We rejoice at your initial successes and we wish you still greater successes. We are glad that the peoples of India have freed themselves and acquired national independence. (*Applause.*)

There is deep and thoroughgoing understanding between us. We are fighting together for peace. (*Stormy applause.*) I should like to say a few words in this connection about what the Soviet people understand by fighting for peace. (*Applause.*)

If you ask anybody in the world today whether he is for peace or for war, he will certainly say he is for peace! (*Applause.*) Even he who is for war at heart will not say it openly. He would prefer to declare that he stands for peace. He knows that the peoples do not want war and that it is dangerous to speak up openly for war. (*Applause.*)

Some of those who now say that they, too, stand for peace would certainly not be averse to achieving without war the aims they set themselves. What they would like to have is a peace in which some peoples submitted to others. But that is not what the peoples want. This is the crux of the matter and the key to all the differences.

You know that the Heads of Government of the Four Powers met at Geneva and that later the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers met there. Much effort was made to achieve agreement but the results are very small so far. That is because we understand the same words to mean different things.

As for the Soviet people, our understanding is clear and understandable to all. We say: peace for all the peoples of the world! (*Stormy applause.*) We say: there should be no interference in the internal arrangements of other states and peoples. (*Stormy applause.*) That is the main thing.

We are working for these principles which have been set out so very well in the Statement proclaimed by India and China and known to all. (*Applause.*)

Like all Soviet men and women, I am certain that truth will prevail, that peace will prevail. (*Stormy applause.*) But we must exert all our efforts towards that. We must not slacken our perseverance, we must not relax our efforts in working for world peace. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and gentlemen, friends, we live in happy times. This is the spring-time of mankind, when colonial slavery is crumbling and there is no return to the past.

We are travelling now through the cities and villages of India, and meeting the Indian people. We see how brightly sparkle the eyes of the free men who have won their country's independence and who want to be the masters of their state, of their destinies.

This outstanding fact is appraised in different ways. As for the peoples of the Soviet Union, they sincerely welcome those successes. We rejoice that the peoples of great China won a great historic victory, cast off for ever the yoke of the imperialists and are building their great people's state. We rejoice that the peoples of great India have won national independence. All the peoples of Asia and Africa are now rising to fight against colonial slavery. That is an ocean wave which nothing can block! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

The peoples of the Soviet Union stretch out a hand of fraternal and everlasting friendship to the peoples of India. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our stand has been, and is, that the internal structure of states should be a matter for the peoples themselves to decide. We do not interfere, nor shall we ever interfere, in anybody else's affairs. You and we have very many interests in common on which there is complete understanding between us. On the basis of this understanding, on the basis of mutual respect, we should cement our friendship for the sake of world peace.

As we visit Indian towns and villages these days I often hear fine words with which I agree entirely. And it is with these words that I would like to close my speech today: "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'il*" (Indians and Russians are brothers!) (*The concluding words of N.S. Khrushchov aroused prolonged, stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY M. DESAI,
CHIEF MINISTER OF STATE OF BOMBAY
November 24

Mr. Chief Minister, Members of the Bombay State Legislative Assembly,

First of all I should like to express my gratitude for your hospitality. Allow me to express personally and on behalf of Comrade Khrushchov and the friends who have come with us, our sincere gratitude for the warm—nay, I would say more than warm—for your friendly welcome, for a welcome usually accorded only to one's closest friends. (*Applause.*)

We have been instructed by the Soviet Government, and this instruction reflects the will of the entire Soviet people, to convey to the Indian people the Soviet people's warmest and fondest regards. (*Applause.*)

We do not doubt that our visit to the Republic of India will still further consolidate the friendship of our two peoples—the great Indian people and the great Soviet people. (*Applause.*) Both the Soviet people and the Indians desire peace, want to live in tranquillity and to work fruitfully for the happiness of the future generations. The stronger our friendship is, the more enduring will peace be, the greater will be the hope of a lasting peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

You and we are people of the 20th century and there is one very happy thing we have in common: we live in an age

in which the consciousness of the peoples has grown immeasurably, in which they are taking their destiny into their own hands and starting to build a new life, guided by the teachings of the men whom they look up to as their teachers.

You had an outstanding leader who did much for your country. I am speaking of Mahatma Gandhi, who is held in high esteem in your country as a glorious patriot and friend of the people. We pay due tribute to his memory and to the work of his successor, Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Applause.*)

We, Soviet people, are guided by the teachings of the great Lenin, who showed us and all the other peoples the way to freedom, independence and happiness.

We, Lenin's pupils, do not share Gandhi's philosophical views, but we consider him an outstanding leader who did much for the development of a peace-loving attitude in your people and for their struggle for independence.

It was only after our people had freed themselves from capitalist oppression that they were able to embark on the building of a free and independent country and improving their welfare. It was only after India had gained her independence that new possibilities and new prospects opened up for her development.

The peoples inhabiting this globe are all striving for peace and are fully resolved to ensure that the future generations may work and live in tranquillity and happiness. But let us not speak now of the tasks facing all the peoples. Let us speak only of the task facing our two peoples: the great Indian people and the great Soviet people. Let us then say:

Long live lasting peace between our peoples! Long live enduring and indestructible friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION IN INDO-SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETY,
BOMBAY
November 24

Friends, allow me first of all to thank you for the cordial and ardent welcome you have given us.

It was not without emotion that we approached the borders of your country. It was not without emotion that we set foot on Indian soil, in your admirable city of Delhi, the capital of your country.

We have come here to acquaint ourselves with your country, with your people, with you.

Having been several days in your country, I must say that at our meetings with the Indian people, with their representatives and with the Indian authorities, and at this meeting with you today we have been deeply stirred by the cordiality and friendship shown us. We feel here as if we were at home, among close friends. (*Stormy applause.*)

Today we are the guests of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. The very name of your society speaks of its aims and objects.

In recent years quite a number of delegations and individual representatives of the great people of India have been to the Soviet Union. Many people from the Soviet Union have been to India.

The Soviet Union has received visits from Indian scientists, writers, many public figures, cinema workers, actors and producers. Many of them are now very, very popular among the Soviet people. We have seen many here with whom we are personally acquainted. (*Applause.*)

We are happy to be at this meeting. We address our gratitude today to the respected President of your society, Dr. Baliga, who directs its activities. We are also grateful to the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab, for making it possible for us to be present here at this wonderful gathering.

I propose a toast to the continued expansion of the activities of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. I drink to the health of its President, Dr. Baliga, and to the health of the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab.

Long live Indo-Soviet friendship! (*Prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT RECEPTION IN INDO-SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETY,
BOMBAY
November 24

Friends, I permit myself to call you friends because we are here at a meeting of a society whose object it is to promote and strengthen friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Like my friend Bulganin, I want to thank the President of your society, Dr. Baliga, and the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab, who is assisting the work of your society and who has graciously invited us to your fine city. (*Applause.*)

I also address my thanks to the Chief Minister of your State, Mr. Desai. (*Prolonged applause.*) I thank you all for coming here to meet us. (*Applause.*)

Sometimes, when beginning a speech, you involuntarily feel excited, until you get down to your subject and can smoothly develop your speech. (*Animation and applause.*) It seems to me that on this occasion a very good subject would be friendship between nations. There are different kinds of friendship. There is the friendship of people who are close companions, and there is the "friendship" of people who are neighbours but are not on visiting terms. (*Laughter and applause.*) So it is with countries. Between some of them there is no real friendship, but they live on one planet, and whether they like it or not they have to get on together.

That is the kind of relationship which our great Lenin called co-existence. The principle of co-existence is a very important principle. But there are people who ask: is co-existence possible? One would think that there cannot be any such question, since states co-exist in practice. (*Animation.*) But the question is asked all the same.

What I want to say is this. The birth of a child depends on the parents. But the day and hour it is born does not depend on them, nor whether it will be the kind of child they would like it to be. (*Animation.*) How is it possible to halt the development of history, to prevent the birth of new social forms? Just as the sun rises every morning, so obsolete social forms are supplanted by new and more progressive ones. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Well, that is how our Soviet state was born. It was the first proletarian state, the first workers' and peasants' state in the world. (*Applause.*) The appearance of this state was greeted by all other states without the ringing of bells. (*Animation.*)

Since the old, tsarist system in Russia was rotten through and through, the October Revolution was almost bloodless. But then they came along and said to us—not in so many words, of course, and without a protocol—but by their actions: How's this? Who authorized the Soviet state to appear? By what right have the workers and peasants taken the power into their own hands? (*Animation.*)

They not only said this, but hurled their armies against the young Soviet state. The French interventionists landed in Odessa, the British in Arkhangelsk, the American in Vladivostok, and the Japanese followed suit.

Everybody knows what came of this. The Soviet people swept out the invading forces, as a good housewife sweeps the dust out of her cottage. (*Animation and stormy applause.*) But this did not seem enough to some gentry. They wanted

a repetition, and instigated the Second World War. They hurled the big armed forces of Hitler Germany against the U.S.S.R.

How this ended is also known to all. Again the Soviet Union defeated its enemies. But far from being weakened by the war, the U.S.S.R. acquired even greater strength. (*Applause.*) Now the Soviet people have healed the wounds of the war, repaired their shattered economy, successfully fulfilled their first postwar five-year plan, and are now on the point of fulfilling their second postwar five-year plan. Our country is rapidly developing and blossoming luxuriantly.

I remember the early days of the October Revolution, and the years of the Civil War, when only Lenin clearly foresaw our future development and how powerful the new-born Soviet state would become.

An absolute majority of those present here are members of the intelligentsia. I should therefore like to tell you how the revolution was greeted at that time by the intelligentsia of Russia. Many intellectuals welcomed the revolution and honestly began to serve the young Soviet state. But some of them argued as follows. What is going to happen? Lenin and the Communists have summoned the workers and peasants to rule the country. The guidance of the country is in the hands of illiterate workers and still more illiterate peasants. What will become of Russian culture? Who will be the connoisseurs of Russian art? Presumably, there will be no more Russian ballet, which was world-famous even before the revolution. Presumably, there will be no more opera, which was also on a high level before the revolution. Presumably, the other arts will likewise go under. There will be no real connoisseurs!

But developments belied these misgivings. Soviet culture is much superior to the culture of the old Russia. Many of you have been to the Soviet Union in late years. You have

seen with your own eyes that art in the Soviet Union is more highly appreciated than it ever was before the revolution. The workers and peasants singled out the finest among their number and sent them to university and college, and, what is more, they themselves at the bench acquired culture.

We are proud of this.

Whether our ill-wishers like it or not, the Soviet Union exists. And not only does it exist; it is successfully growing and developing. Our economy is expanding, our culture is progressing, the living standards of our people are rising.

And all this at a time when we are compelled to reckon with the existence of hostile forces who have still not given up the idea of strangling our country. We are obliged to spend quite considerable funds on national defence. If we could divert the funds now spent on armaments to peaceful purposes, the living standards of our people would be even higher.

This our ill-wishers realize. And that is why certain political leaders abroad are afraid to talk seriously of disarmament, and do not want to put an end to international tension. They are afraid we might use the funds now spent on defence for peaceful construction.

But despite this, we are confident that, even as things are now, in peaceful competition between the capitalist and socialist systems, it is we, socialism, that will win. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I happened to say this publicly at one of the receptions in the Kremlin. The bourgeois correspondents blazoned it around the world that Khrushchev had been "incautious" and let out that the Bolsheviks had not abandoned their political plans. No, I was not incautious and did not let out anything, but said what we think and what we confi-

dently believe. We have never abandoned, and never will abandon, our political line, which was mapped by Lenin; we have never abandoned, and never will abandon, our political programme. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As our proverb has it: you don't leave a good life to look for a bad one! (*Animation.*)

Why should we abandon that which has led our country from age-old backwardness to the level of the industrially and economically most advanced and developed countries? Why? What have we to gain by abandoning it?

And so we say to the gentry who are expecting the Soviet Union to change its political programme: "Wait until the crab whistles!" And you know when the crab whistles. (*Animation.*)

Hence, there is only one possibility—co-existence. Co-existence of the two systems. Co-existence of the socialist and capitalist systems.

I, personally, dislike very much the capitalist system. (*Applause.*) I speak of co-existence not because I want capitalism to exist, but because I cannot help recognizing that this system does exist. (*Animation.*)

But the other side refuses to reconcile itself to the existence of the socialist system, though it is not only we that have built a socialist state; many other countries have embarked on the same path. Socialism is being built by our close friend, the great Chinese people—and that is a state which, as the saying goes, you cannot step over without noticing. Socialism is being built by a whole number of European and Asian countries, which stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, has said that India will also follow the socialist path. (*Stormy applause.*) That is good. Of course, our conceptions of socialism differ. But we welcome this statement and this intention.

And so, the socialist system exists, and does not ask anybody's permission to do so. (*Animation and applause.*) We not only exist, but can well defend our existence.

If we had confined ourselves to pleading for co-existence, we should have been crushed long ago.

Our enemies might like very much to see the end of us, but that is not in their power. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Hence, like it or not, love it or not, the socialist and capitalist states have to live together on one planet.

We say to the capitalist countries: If you don't like us, don't have us as your guests, but we will exist all the same.

Such is the situation in the present-day world.

We want such co-existence as will facilitate normal development of relations between all states. We want, in particular, to trade with all countries. Let them buy from us, and we shall buy from them.

Just now they are trying to practise trade discrimination against us, and do not want to trade with us in important items. But our country is developing and growing stronger all the same. And between you and me, their discrimination has only induced us to bend our efforts to produce those items which the capitalists are unwilling to sell us. We now produce these items ourselves, and are moving ever onward. Consequently, the trade discrimination policy has not harmed, but even benefited us.

We stand for broader cultural intercourse between countries. We want more people from the capitalist countries to come to us, and more of our people to go to these countries.

We have been accused of erecting an "iron curtain." But only this year a large number of U.S. senators have visited the U.S.S.R., and quite a number of American scientists and press representatives, also American and British farmers, and American war veterans.

We do not refuse visas to those who wish to visit our country.

You are probably acquainted with the biblical legend about Noah's ark. When Noah gathered the beasts into his ark, he took of those that were clean by seven pairs and of those that were not clean by two pairs. Well, I can tell you it was mostly the unclean that came to our country, but we received them without fear. (*Animation.*)

The way we looked at it was, suppose an unclean one does come—he won't dirty us.

Hence, if international cultural intercourse is not developing as fast as one would like, we are not to blame.

These are a few aspects of the question of peaceful co-existence. I think that if a classical example of co-existence is needed, it is provided by our relations with India. Not only do we co-exist; we are friends, despite our different political views on a number of questions. The basis of this friendship is our common effort for peace. We must therefore not relax this effort. Let us continue to break down everything that stands in the way of peaceful co-existence. Let us promote everything that facilitates the development of peaceful co-existence of states.

We have had a small, perhaps microscopic, success in this respect as a result of the Geneva meetings. The Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference has just ended. It did not produce the results that might have been expected. But we are not particularly discouraged. Evidently, the time had not yet come. The question was not ripe for decision. And our partners had not given up the idea of negotiating from so-called "positions of strength."

I must again frankly warn that anyone who tries to speak to us from "positions of strength" will get nowhere.

Well, it looks as if we shall have to wait for the settlement of the questions which were brought before Geneva. Well,

we are prepared to wait. The wind, as they say, is not blowing in our faces. We shall wait for fairer weather. We shall wait until these questions can be settled in the interest of the people.

When I was already in India, I read the speeches of a number of statesmen assessing the results of the Geneva Conference. I am glad that the statements of the participants in the conference were restrained. This presumably indicates that they did not want just now to give rein to passions that would aggravate international tension.

I am concluding. There must be co-existence. We do not demand it or request it; we really exist, just as capitalist states really exist. Nobody can transplant us to Mars—what is more, the scientists have not discovered the means of doing so. Presumably, the capitalist states do not want to transplant themselves to Mars either. (*Animation.*) Consequently, we have to live on one planet. And living means co-existing.

That being so, the task is to prevent the aggressive forces from unleashing another war.

The work of your society furthers the solution of the problem of peaceful co-existence. The better we know each other, the closer we co-operate, the more we help each other, the stronger will be the forces of peace, and this will act as a restrain on the aggressive forces. Aggressors, you know, cannot be weaned from aggressiveness, they can only be restrained by active efforts, by an active struggle of the peoples for peace. (*Applause.*)

I propose a toast to all present here—to all who are working might and main in this direction. I propose a toast to friendship. Your health, friends! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN.

AT RALLY IN POONA

November 25

Mr. Mayor, dear friends,

Allow me to convey ardent greetings from the Soviet people to you and, through you, to the entire population of Poona.

Your city has glorious historical traditions. In the past it was the capital of the courageous and intrepid Marathas, who bravely defended their country's national independence against foreign invaders. Here, not far from Poona, courageous Maratha soldiers waged battles against the colonialists. Your forefathers did not shed their blood in vain. The memory of their deeds has always inspired the Indian people's struggle for national liberation. The aspirations of your brave forefathers have come true: India has become an independent state.

Now the Indian people are gradually turning historic Poona into a city of science and learning. The university, the colleges, the observatory, the National Academy of Defence, the water and power research station—all these are centres of high culture and education of the youth.

May the noble, freedom-loving Maratha traditions of yesteryear live on for ever in Poona, and may the contem-

porary culture of the Maratha people develop ever broader and broader.

May friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples grow and strengthen. We shall work together for a lasting and stable world peace, for friendship among all nations.

Allow me to thank you for the warm welcome you have given us today in your splendid city. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT CITY RALLY IN BANGALORE
November 26

Friends, brothers,

Allow me on behalf of myself personally, of my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, and of all the friends accompanying us on this wonderful tour of your great country, to thank you for the invitation which has enabled us to visit your State of Mysore and the splendid city of Bangalore. (*Applause.*)

I want also to express our gratitude to the Rajpramukh of Mysore, Mr. Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, the Chief Minister, Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, and the Mayor of the city, Mr. V. P. Deenadayalu Naidu, for having said such kind things about our country, about the achievements of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

We have now been several days in your great country. Our tour and our acquaintance with India are going so swiftly and eventfully that we have lost count of the days. This morning, for instance, Nikolai Alexandrovich and I had an argument about what day this is—Saturday or Sunday. (*Animation and laughter.*)

In the few days we have been in India we have seen much and learned much. We have accumulated a mass of impressions. Today we drove about your fine city. How many

people, young and old, came out into the streets, what cries of welcome expressing the friendship and regard of the Indian people for the peoples of the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

We should be very petty indeed if we thought that the friendship and regard manifested by the Indian people were meant for me, my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich, and the other friends who have come here with us. They express the love and respect of the Indian people for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

What have the peoples of the Soviet Union done to deserve the deep affection and warm gratitude of the great people of India?

I ask this question because the appearance of our Soviet state, a state organized on new principles, was greeted by the capitalist world very ungraciously, indeed with hostility. But despite this, our state steadily grew and developed.

We have advanced a very long way since the establishment of the Soviet state. The great Lenin, and the Communist Party he founded, issued the call for peace and for the building of a new society in our country, and this call was taken up by all the peoples. In the early period of Soviet government, our country was poverty-stricken and devastated. Industry was in a state of disruption. Most of the population was illiterate. And in these conditions it needed Lenin's vision, his boldness and perspicacity, to foresee the great future of the new-born workers' and peasants' state, and to win the following of all the peoples of our country.

At that time our enemies said that before a year was out the Soviet state would collapse and Lenin and the Bolsheviks would have nothing for their pains.

Well, what do you think now? Do these gentry qualify as prophets, or have they no place among the prophets? (*Animation.*)

Far from collapsing, the Soviet country, as you know, grew into a mighty power, with a powerful industry and a highly developed economy.

Wherein lies the strength of our Soviet state? After all, it came into being against the opposition of all the capitalist countries. It received no assistance or capital from anyone. On the contrary, everything was done to prevent us, the Soviet people, from building up the Soviet state. Wars and economic blockades were organized against us, and every other obstacle was put in our way. Yet, despite all this, our country grew stronger from year to year, built mills and factories, universities, colleges and schools, raised its cultural standards, and moved steadily forward.

Now the Soviet Union can compare favourably with any capitalist country as regards the number of intellectuals, of engineers.

Well, then, wherein lies our strength? Our strength lies in the people. The people are the chief capital. They are the makers of everything mankind has produced.

We know from our own experience that if a people has won the freedom of its country, it may be illiterate today but will be literate tomorrow. A man may be illiterate today, but tomorrow he will not only be literate; he may become an engineer or a scientist.

In the early years of Soviet government, we had no intelligentsia of our own. Now we have a numerous people's intelligentsia, an intelligentsia that has come from the ranks of the workers and peasants. (*Applause.*) This, friends, we consider one of our biggest achievements. (*Applause.*)

Why is it that you applaud us so heartily and greet us so amicably? For, you know, there are some who abuse us. I shall not go in for propaganda and name those who abuse us. You read the newspapers, and you know what some of the representatives of the bourgeois press are writing about

our tour of India. But you don't believe them. You don't believe them because you know that all the nasty things they write about us are sheer slander. (*Applause.*)

And we say to these hacks: Write what you like, say what you like—dirt does not stick to the clean. (*Animation.*) We have a folk saying I should like to cite: a man passes, the dog barks, the bark is carried away by the wind, the man goes on his way. (*Laughter.*)

And we, too, are going on our way, a way which humanity has never yet followed—the way of socialist construction. Our country is paving the way to a bright future for all mankind.

Our people are building a communist society, and they will achieve their goal—they will build communism!

You may respond in different ways to our ideas. Your conceptions and ours may differ on a number of questions. You must choose your own path of development, that which pleases you most. Not only shall we not try to deter you; we shall assist you in the good work of developing your country, for the benefit of your great and noble people. (*Applause.*)

We say, perhaps there is something in our practical experience that may suit you. If so, use it; if not, don't. We do not force anything upon anyone; we are not seeking to impose any political obligations. Why do we say this to you so frankly? Because our attitude towards you is sincere, as towards brothers. (*Applause.*)

We feel that your welcome to us is a special one. We have visited many Indian towns and villages and have seen much. India today resembles a mighty current that has broken down the obstacles in its way and spread far and wide. That current makes the old world tremble. But we are glad that the Indian people have broken out of colonial slavery, that

India has embarked on the path of independent development. (*Applause.*)

Why do we feel about India like this, and why are certain other countries averse to India's independent development? Because it is not our object to take advantage of the weakness of your industrial development; but certain other countries want to exploit this weakness for gain.

We want to see you rapidly building your own mills and factories. You showed us today a very fine college. It will not be long before you see yourselves that it is a small college, that it is only a beginning.

We sincerely wish that India may become as great and strong economically as she is great today in spirit, in culture and moral grandeur. We should like her to have a highly developed industry, an advanced agriculture and a high national standard of living. We, on our part, are ready to help you in this good and splendid cause. (*Applause.*)

Friends, in the speech he made here, the Mayor of your city spoke very well about the Five Principles which were first proclaimed in the Joint Statement signed by Mr. Nehru and our great friend, Chou En-lai. (*Applause.*) These principles were endorsed in the Soviet-Indian Statement signed in Moscow during Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union. It is on this document that we base our relations with your country.

As I have said, there are some points both—of method and theory—on which we differ. We do not conceal it, nor do you. But this does not prevent us from being friends. Why? Because neither of us has any evil designs on the other. You really are our sincere friends, and we are your best friends and brothers. (*Applause.*) Here we have a graphic example of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems.

We propose to all countries: let us live in friendship instead of quarrelling and attacking one another in the press and public statements. But we also frankly say that we do not like the capitalist method of economic organization, just as not everyone likes our methods.

Let us, we urge the leaders of the capitalist states, prove in practice which system is the best. Let us compete without war. (*Applause.*) Is that a bad proposal? It is better, surely, than to say, let us compete and see who produces the most weapons and who smashes the other. That would be competition against the interests of the people, competition in annihilating human beings. What we propose is peaceful competition in raising the living standards of all peoples. We stand, and always shall stand, for such competition as will help to promote the prosperity of the peoples, to raise their living standards. Therefore, our proposals are very clear and comprehensible. They are comprehensible to all people. And I am sure that this clear and just position of the Soviet Union is welcomed by the Indian people. But we must view things soberly and assess the situation correctly. Every beast has its own food. The tiger, for example, lives on meat, and the buffalo on grass. You cannot force the buffalo to feed on meat, nor the tiger to feed on grass. (*Animation.*) I shall not develop this thought any further, so as not to be suspected of propaganda. I think you understand it. (*Animation and applause.*)

Friends, we have put forward very clear proposals on disarmament. The Mayor of your city pointed out here that we have reduced our armed forces by 640,000 men. We have liquidated our base at Porkkala Udd, in Finland, and given up the naval base we had in Port Arthur.

The Soviet Union has proposed prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and has submitted proposals on reduction of conventional armaments. We have proposed

the establishment of effective control. But, they say, so long as you do not agree to a form of control which will enable the United States to control the territory of the Soviet Union from the air, and, conversely, the Soviet Union to control the territory of the United States, we shall have no talks with you on questions of disarmament.

It is obvious to all that this form of control is unacceptable, because it does not solve the problem. Assume that American aircraft begin to fly over the Soviet Union, and Soviet aircraft over the United States. What will be the use? The aircraft will fly, and the airmen will see: there is a town here, a village there; here troops are stationed, there some factories are located. Supposing we see that the Americans have a large number of airfields. In that case we shall have to conclude that we must make more headway so as not to fall behind, and build several more airfields. (*Animation.*) The Americans, in their turn, see what we have, and will also say that they must have more airfields and aircraft, and perhaps other things too.

Hence, if we accept this proposal, it will only lead to an arms race. We say to the Western statesmen: If you are afraid to disarm, to destroy your bomb stocks, let us pledge our word of honour as gentlemen that none of us will ever employ atomic weapons. They reply that they cannot pledge their word, because, supposedly, they need hydrogen and atomic bombs to maintain "equilibrium." And what does this "equilibrium" mean? It means an arms race. Hence, considerable resources, a substantial proportion of the national labour goes not for the peaceful development of the country, but for military purposes. Can we continue to reduce armaments unilaterally, when the Western Powers do not want to do likewise? I shall answer this question in the words of a Russian saying: if you live with wolves, you must howl like a wolf. (*Animation.*)

If the Western Powers do not want to prohibit the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, if they do not even want to pledge their word to prohibit their employment, this compels us, too, to produce atomic and hydrogen bombs, rocket weapons and all the other means of annihilation.

Today the newspapers in many countries, including some Indian newspapers, stated that an atomic bomb was exploded in the Soviet Union. I shall not say that there was no such explosion. (*Animation and laughter.*) There really was an explosion. It was an explosion of incredible power. Tomorrow our press will be publishing a statement on the subject.

Lately, in pursuance of a plan of research and experiment in atomic energy, new types of atomic and thermonuclear (hydrogen) weapons have been tested in our country. The tests have fully borne out the computations of our research workers. They have, also, demonstrated important new achievements by Soviet scientists and engineers. The latest experimental hydrogen bomb explosion was the most powerful explosion carried out so far. Our scientists and engineers succeeded, with the use of a comparatively small amount of nuclear material, in producing an explosion equal to that of several million tons of ordinary explosive. But I declare, friends, that the Soviet Union will never abuse its possession of these weapons. (*Animation and applause.*) We shall be happy if these bombs never explode over towns and villages. (*Applause.*) Let the bombs lie in storage and get on the nerves of those who want to unleash war. Let it be known that one cannot unleash war, because if he starts war, he can be sure of meeting with a proper rebuff. (*Animation.*)

We were compelled to develop this terrible type of weapon. It is not this that enthuses us. We work with greater satisfaction on the making of more machines, tractors, ploughs, in order to grow more wheat, rice and cotton, and in order that our people may have meat, vegetables, fish and

other foods in abundance. That is what we want, and that is what we are working for. (*Applause.*)

To this end, we shall continue to strive persistently for world peace. (*Applause.*) We shall continue to strive for reduction of international tension. (*Applause.*) We shall strive for the ending of the "cold war," and work for the development of trade among all countries. It will be our concern to promote friendly international contacts. This is what life demands. This is what mankind needs.

We shall do all that we can for the satisfaction of man's requirements. We must not relax our efforts, we must mobilize everything necessary to compel the aggressive-minded elements in a number of countries to talk less of war, and more of contacts, of the promotion of peaceful relations between countries and elimination of international tension.

If I have said anything that may be unpleasant to anyone, please forgive me. (*Animation and applause.*) What I chiefly wanted was to express my warm feelings of friendship for your great people, to tell you that all the Soviet people entertain the most friendly feelings for the peoples of India. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, I should like once again to express our deep gratitude and acknowledgements to the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, that excellent man and distinguished statesman who invited our delegation to your great and hospitable country. (*Applause.*)

Long live the fraternal friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!

Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'il (*Prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY K. HANUMANTHAIYA,
CHIEF MINISTER OF STATE OF MYSORE
November 26

Speaking to the Chief Minister and to the Rajpramukh of the State of Mysore who also attended the reception, N. A. Bulganin said:

On behalf of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and on my own behalf I thank you, and through you all the citizens of Bangalore, for the exceptionally warm welcome given us here. We are full of the finest impressions of the industrious and gifted people of Mysore, of their great achievements in building a new life, and of their wonderful monuments of ancient culture created by skilled folk craftsmen.

To our regret we do not have the time to make a more detailed acquaintance with all the aspects of life and many places of interest in Mysore, although we should like very much to do so. Allow me to express the hope that the contacts we have made here with the citizens of Bangalore will be successfully continued and developed in future.

There is no need to dwell here on the importance of the development of all-round ties between India and the Soviet Union. The significance of these ties is very great, and we are confident that their extension accords with the interests of the peoples of both countries, India and the Soviet Union. I should like in this connection to cite one example which

shows how greatly friendly contacts benefit both our peoples. Beginning with 1948 delegations of scientists from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science have been taking part annually in sessions of the Indian Scientific Congress. In these years many Soviet doctors, statisticians, geologists, metallurgists and other specialists have visited India, and many of your scientists have visited the Soviet Union. They have exchanged experience and advice, with definite benefit both to India and the U.S.S.R.

In future, too, Indian delegations will have every opportunity to acquaint themselves with the Soviet Union's industrial and agricultural development, scientific and engineering achievements, public education and the health services, and achievements in culture and art. They can always count on receiving the necessary aid and due attention during their stay in the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Direct contact and close, broad ties between the Soviet and Indian peoples benefit both our countries and promote friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union. This friendship between our two great peoples is an important factor for the promotion of peace and international security. Long live the growing friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT PUBLIC RALLY IN MADRAS
November 28

Esteemed Mr. Governor,
Esteemed Mr. Chief Minister,
Mr. Mayor,
Dear friends,

We gladly accepted the invitation to visit your splendid city of Madras. Allow me, on my own behalf, on behalf of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and our friends who have arrived together with us, to thank you for the warm reception accorded us during our stay in your city. We also thank you for the presents you have given us. Allow me also to extend to you fervent and friendly greetings from the Soviet people, who entertain deep respect for the great and peace-loving people of India. (*Applause.*)

Before coming to Madras we visited a number of other Indian cities. One could speak at length about the impressions this very useful trip has made on us, but I want to say first of all that everywhere in India we have observed an irrepressible desire of the people to preserve peace. The industrious Indian people, who have won national independence for their country, are engaged in constructive labour.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are likewise engaged in peaceful constructive labour. They are building a new society

together with other peace-loving peoples and are fully resolved to prevent another world conflagration from breaking out, because they know from their own experience what war is like. Ready at any moment to defend their interests, the Soviet people are consistently upholding the cause of peace; they are working to ease international tension, to remove the danger of another war and assure peaceful co-operation between all states, irrespective of their social systems. The Soviet people are happy that they have many allies in this lofty cause, and among them such a splendid ally as the people of your great country.

Other peoples of Asia who are now living through a great turning point in their history are also working to preserve a firm and lasting peace. For decades, indeed for centuries, the peoples of Asia have groaned under the yoke of foreigners and have fought selflessly for their freedom and national independence, and now the colonial regime is collapsing and passing out of existence for ever. (*Applause.*) Yet there are some states in Europe which still fail to understand that the days of the old colonial order are gone never to return. There is no justification whatever for the existence, to this very day, of the Portuguese colony of Goa on what since time immemorial has been the territory of India. This is a disgrace to the civilized nations. (*Applause.*) The sympathies of the Soviet people have always been, and will always be, on the side of those who are fighting against colonialism and its survivals. (*Stormy applause.*)

One cannot say that the peoples of Asia have already overcome all their difficulties on the road to independent development. Attempts are still being made to push them off the path of peaceful development and on to the path of militarization and preparation of another war. That, in particular, is the purpose behind the various military pacts and blocs which are being knocked together in Southeast Asia, the

Middle East and other parts of the world. They arouse justified suspicion on the part of the peoples of Asia because their initiators are the same forces which in their day implanted and defended the colonial system. Your Government, headed by Mr. Nehru, that outstanding statesman of our time, has taken a wise decision in refusing to join those military groupings, clearly realizing that they hamper the efforts of the peoples to secure a firm and lasting peace, and that the existence of such groupings greatly increases the danger of another war.

We note with satisfaction that many Asian countries have taken a determined stand against the building of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on their territory, being perfectly aware that the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on their territory is fraught with the great danger of it being turned into an area of war and annihilation.

We know that Madras is famed for its ancient culture. The wonderful architectural monuments which have arisen on your land throughout the centuries bear witness to the tremendous talent of your people, of your architects and builders. The State of Madras holds an important place in India's economic and cultural life. The state's chief treasure and asset, however, is its people, the creators of its wealth and its material values.

Today all the peoples of India are working to strengthen their country's independence. We do not doubt that a broad road to new achievements in all spheres of the country's economic and cultural life lies open before them. We wish you success in further strengthening the unity of the peoples of India, in increasing her wealth and in steadfastly upholding the cause of peace. In the peoples of the Soviet Union you have true and reliable friends (*applause*), staunch and consistent champions of peace. (*Applause.*)

Friendship between our peoples has glorious and ancient traditions. Never have relations between them been clouded by friction, still less by conflicts. This alone means much in evaluating prospects for the development of Soviet-Indian relations, prospects for further strengthening friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Soviet people note with deep satisfaction that India is in the vanguard of the champions striving for the peaceful co-existence of nations (*applause*), and for the implementation of *Panch Shila* (*applause*), the Five Principles proclaimed in the Statement of Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, and in the Joint Soviet-Indian Statement issued during the recent visit of Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union. The Soviet people highly appreciate the contribution made by India and her Government to the cause of peace and peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems. In the Republic of India and her Government they see a like-minded ally in the struggle for peace and for further relaxation of international tension.

Long live the great industrious people of India! (*Applause.*)

Long live the inviolable friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT PUBLIC RALLY IN MADRAS

November 28

Friends,

I subscribe to what my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin has said in his speech. To what he said I will add: Our feelings of friendship blend with yours. We are fighting for peace together with you. (*Applause.*)

If we use the strength of our friendship wisely and unite our efforts in the struggle for peace, then none of the forces bent on launching another war need hold any fears for us. They will be swept out of the way and peace will be ensured. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet people rejoice at every success of the peoples of India. They rejoice at your successes because in the past they themselves were oppressed and exploited by the tsarist autocracy, by domestic and foreign oppressors. In bitter struggle they created their powerful workers' and peasants' state, independent of the whims of foreign enslavers. This is why the Soviet people rejoice that the peoples of India, having rid themselves of colonial oppression, are now building their own independent state.

We know from the experience of our own country that winning independence is not enough; after it has been won, independence must be consolidated, so that it can be upheld.

(Stormy applause.) The way to consolidate the independence you have won is by building up a powerful industry of your own and steadily raising the living standard of the people. *(Applause.)* It is our sincere wish that the Republic of India may have a powerful, highly developed industry of her own, and a national economy independent of foreign states.

Our people advanced towards that goal in their own way and they have achieved big results. You are following your own road, the road you have chosen. But you should know, friends, that the Soviet people will always be with you in your efforts to consolidate the independence you have won. *(Stormy applause.)*

Long live the great people of India! *(Applause.)*

Long live everlasting and inviolable friendship of the peoples of India and the peoples of the Soviet Union! *(Applause.)*

Long live world peace, everlasting peace among nations! *(Stormy, prolonged applause.)*

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT RALLY IN CALCUTTA

November 30

Esteemed Dr. Mookerjee, Governor of Western Bengal,
Esteemed Dr. Roy, First Minister of Western Bengal,
Esteemed Mr. Ghosh, Mayor of Calcutta,
Dear men and women, citizens of Calcutta (*applause*),

Allow me to thank you for the exceptionally warm and friendly reception you have extended us representatives of the Soviet Union, your unselfish friend and brother! (*Stormy applause.*)

During our short stay in your country we have become convinced of the Indian people's sincere desire to strengthen and further develop friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. This friendship has deep roots. (*Applause.*)

The historic destinies of our peoples have much in common. That is why we understand each other so easily. Our friendship is based not only on community of aims in the struggle for freedom and independence in the past, but on community of aims today and in the future too.

Wonderful prospects for independent national development and for the building of a new life have opened out before the peoples of India since they freed themselves from ago-

old colonial oppression and adopted the line of independent development.

India has won her political freedom, thus creating the prerequisite for the progress of your great country.

We are particularly glad of the solidarity of the Asian peoples who have risen for the decisive storm of the world colonial system and have tremendous achievements to their credit.

The peoples of great China, our common friend and brother, have gained an historic victory. (*Applause.*)

Great India has won political independence! (*Applause.*)

Other Asian peoples too are freeing themselves from hated colonial oppression. They are choosing their path of development, non-interference of other states in their internal affairs. We greet the peoples of these countries in their great endeavours.

There are countries which fasten themselves like ticks to a healthy body. I mean Portugal, which refuses to leave Goa, to relinquish its hold on that territory which legitimately belongs to India. (*Applause.*)

But this will happen sooner or later and Goa will be free of foreign domination and become a component part of the Republic of India. (*Stormy applause.*)

The solidarity of the Asian peoples is a mortal blow to the world colonial system.

We are in famous Calcutta, the centre of Western Bengal, which made greater sacrifices in the struggle for India's independence than any other state in India. (*Stormy applause.*)

The people of Calcutta have displayed great understanding of their role in the struggle for an independent India. We are happy to greet them, happy to convey the most sincere greetings from the peoples of the Soviet Union (*applause*) and wish you, our dear friends, success in strengthening the state of your birth. (*Stormy applause.*)

We know from the experience of our country what inexhaustible forces people display when they struggle for a great cause like the strengthening of the independence they have won. Our whole people together built up its own powerful industry. No one helped us. More than that, the capitalists did all they could to harm us.

But utilizing all our domestic resources we have built a strong socialist state.

We now have a powerful industry which enables us to attain important successes in the development of our national economy.

We sincerely and heartily wish you success in developing your home industry—the condition for strengthening the independence of any great state. (*Applause.*)

You have immense possibilities for the development of a powerful industry of your own—an enormous raw material base and industrious and talented people. As yet, of course, you have little experience. But we are prepared to share ours with you, to pass on to you the necessary technical knowledge. (*Applause.*)

We had no such friends when we began to build our industry. But we found strength to surmount all difficulties. We believe that India will build a mighty industry of her own.

In the very first years of Soviet power Lenin put forward the idea of peaceful co-existence of the socialist and the capitalist systems. He said that the socialist state would constantly grow and gain strength, and, whether the capitalist states liked it or not, they would be compelled to trade with the Soviet Land, to have close economic ties with our country. We Soviet people have always stood for peaceful relations between states irrespective of their political system, for independent development of both large and small countries and respect for their territorial integrity, for non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

That is why we so heartily support the Five Principles proclaimed in the Statement signed by Mr. Nehru, your Prime Minister, and Comrade Chou En-lai, as representative of the great Chinese people. (*Applause.*) These Five Principles conform to our foreign policy, and we gave them our full support by signing the Joint Statement of the Soviet Union and India. (*Applause.*)

Friends,

The peoples of our countries, engaged in peaceful constructive endeavour, are vitally interested in maintaining and strengthening peace. The friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union is growing and becoming stronger in the fight for peace.

Each going its own way, the peoples of our countries are working for their bright future.

Further consolidation of our friendship, mutual exchange of experience and broad development of economic and cultural ties between the peoples of our countries will undoubtedly promote the earliest attainment of the noble aims they have set themselves.

Our friendship enriches the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union materially and spiritually.

Friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union, however, is not to the liking of some people, who would not be averse to destroying it. It is clear to us why certain circles in some countries are trying to achieve this. They fear friendship between peoples because it promotes the strengthening of world peace.

We have never imposed our ideas or our way of life on other countries, as the governments of some states do. We build our relations with other countries on mutual respect for the way of life chosen by those nations.

We stand for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Applause.*) But to our

regret we are not getting proper support in this matter from the Western states. They do not want this because the monopolists thrive on the armament race. They do not want any cut in armaments because they strive to make us spend more for defence purposes so that we will not be able to spend more on the peaceful development of our national economy or to render assistance to economically underdeveloped countries.

It is our task to exert an active influence on the reactionary forces and to work for the prohibition of atomic weapons. We are in favour of control over armaments, but of effective, not fictitious, control. (*Applause.*)

We have special pleasure in visiting your wonderful city since it is one of the biggest industrial and cultural centres in India. It is a pleasure for us to visit it also because it is the birthplace of the great son of the Bengali people, the writer of genius and public figure Rabindranath Tagore. (*Applause.*) Tagore was a sincere and loyal friend of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) The Soviet people deeply respect him and are fond of his works. (*Applause.*)

Our compatriot Gerasim Lebedev lived and worked in your city, and together with advanced representatives of the Indian intellectuals he founded the first Bengali theatre in 1795.

We should like relations between our countries to grow broader and stronger. We should like your people to come oftener to our country, where they will always find the warmest and most cordial welcome. (*Applause.*)

Allow me to thank you once more, dear friends, for the warm and exceptionally hospitable reception you extended us. We take it as the expression of your love for the peoples of the Soviet Union, a love of which we are very proud. The peoples of India and of the Soviet Union are brothers! (*Stormy applause.*)

We express our most heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Nehru, that outstanding statesman and political leader, whom we sincerely and highly respect (*applause*), and we wish to thank him once more for the invitation to visit your country and to acquaint ourselves with her life and the wonderful Indian people.

May the fraternal friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union grow stronger and develop! (*Applause.*) Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause and cheers.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RALLY OF CITIZENS OF JAIPUR AND
OTHER TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF RAJASTHAN
December 8

Mr. Chief Minister, Mr. Mayor, dear friends,

Allow me on my own behalf, on behalf of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, on behalf of the friends who are accompanying us, and on behalf of the entire multi-million Soviet people, to convey friendly greetings to you. (*Applause.*)

We heartily thank you, dear friends, for your warm welcome and fraternal hospitality. (*Applause.*)

Jaipur is known as a city with a glorious history, as a city with wonderful monuments of Indian architecture.

We know that the population of Jaipur together with all the people of Rajasthan for a long time heroically upheld their independence and inscribed many glorious pages in the annals of India's struggle for independence. (*Applause.*) We know how courageously the people of Rajasthan are combating grim nature, and we wish them successes in converting the droughty areas of the state into flourishing fields and orchards, into sources of the people's prosperity. (*Prolonged applause.*)

During our stay in India we have visited many towns and districts of your great country. We have seen and learned a great deal. We have made the acquaintance of the people

of India, who everywhere have greeted us as friends and expressed their ardent love for the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have been deeply moved by the warm fraternal welcome you accorded us. We shall never forget it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The friendship between the Indian and the Soviet peoples is a great historical achievement. This friendship was born in the struggle of the peace-loving nations against war, in the struggle for peace and security. The friendship between our peoples is of immense importance for the further consolidation of the forces of peace. (*Applause.*)

The relations between our countries are based on the well-known Five Principles, *Panch Shila*. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Soviet Union firmly adheres to these principles. (*Applause.*) We want the friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union to develop and gain in strength for the benefit of our great countries, for the benefit of peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear friends, allow me to wish success and prosperity to the wonderful city of Jaipur, to your state and to the entire Indian people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May the sovereign and independent Republic of India—our country's great friend—grow in stature and strength! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT AIRFIELD IN SRINAGAR, CAPITAL OF KASHMIR
December 9

Sadar-i-Riyasat, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me to convey to you, and in your person to the population of Kashmir, our sincere gratitude for your warm and hearty welcome.

We have been to many cities in India, have visited industrial establishments and plantations, construction sites and scientific institutions and are full of impressions of everything seen in that great country.

India is a country of immense potentialities and the Indian people are filled with desire to build a new, economically strong India.

During our trip we have met representatives of many peoples inhabiting India who differ in language, historic traditions and culture, but they are all united in their striving for peace and peaceful labour. We can assure you that in their striving for peace the Indian people have loyal and consistent friends in the peoples of the Soviet Union.
(*Applause.*)

Our tour of India has proved very useful to us. We must say with all frankness that the conception of India we had was far from adequate. Thanks to the opportunity kindly granted us we travelled through the whole of South and Cen-

tral India. But without visiting the northern part of India we would not have been able to get a full idea of India. (*Applause.*)

That is why we have accepted with great satisfaction the invitation of the Sadar-i-Riyasat Yuvraj Karan Singh to visit Kashmir. (*Applause.*) The trip to Kashmir is interesting to us because the peculiar natural conditions of Kashmir, the rich original culture of its peoples and the art of the popular craftsmen have won Kashmir world-wide renown. The trip to Kashmir is of interest to us, representatives of the Soviet people, also because Kashmir is near to our country. In the past we always had extensive trade ties with Kashmir. (*Stormy applause.*)

We should like to make use of our sojourn in Kashmir to learn about the life and customs of the Kashmiri people, their rich, original culture and their achievements.

Once again we thank you, dear friends, for your warm welcome. (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY SADAR-I-RIYASAT
YUVRAJ KARAN SINGH

December 10

Sadar-i-Riyasat,

We heartily thank you for your warm and friendly welcome and for the kind words you have addressed to us here. We gladly accepted the invitation to visit Kashmir. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are well familiar with the rich and distinctive culture of Kashmir, which has presented India with many outstanding scientists, historians, writers, political leaders and artists.

The productions of the industrious and talented craftsmen of Kashmir are highly valued in the Soviet Union. In this we were not mistaken. When visiting today the exhibition of the work of local craftsmen, we had one more opportunity to convince ourselves of their great skill.

We think that the talented and industrious people of Kashmir, together with all the peoples of India, will achieve further success in economic and cultural development.

Sadar-i-Riyasat, you rightly observed that co-operation between the Soviet Union and India is now particularly fruitful, developing as it is on the basis of the Five Principles, *Panch Shila*. These principles not only ensure the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of our countries; they

serve the general cause of the peace and security of the nations.

The Soviet Union is perseveringly working to ease international tension and to strengthen confidence between the states, so that international problems may be fully solved by negotiation. We are confident that a real international détente will come when universal confidence has been established, as expressed in renunciation of the policy of forming military blocs, in cessation of the arms race, in successive reductions of armed forces and armaments, and in unconditional prohibition of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

We are very glad that on many of these problems India's views and our views concur.

Allow me to wish you, your people and all the population of Kashmir continued and even greater achievement.

The warm and cordial welcome we have received is evidence of the friendly feelings cherished by your people for the Soviet Union.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY G. M. BAKSHI,
PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR

December 10

Dear friends,

Allow me first of all to express my deep gratitude to the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Y. K. Singh, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. G. M. Bakshi, to all present here and to all the people of your state for the cordial reception you have given us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We shall never forget the very hearty welcome we received from the people of Kashmir. Yesterday, when we rode in the boats on the river, with its banks crowded with welcoming people, and through the thronged streets of Srinagar, we were deeply moved by the manifestation of most cordial friendship and affection entertained by the inhabitants of Kashmir, as of all the other Indian cities and states we visited, for their friend and brother, the people of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Your state is situated nearest of all to the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union—Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. (*Applause.*) That is why we accepted with deep gratitude the invitation of the esteemed chief of your state, Yuvraj Karan Singh, to come to Kashmir. It has been a pleasure to visit your state, because it is the birthplace of your esteemed Premier, Mr. Nehru. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Your climate, too, is similar to that of our Central Asian republics, and the crops you grow have much in common with theirs. When we came here we felt, as it were, the breath of our native country, of its southern, Central Asian part. The population of Kashmir and of the capital of your state, Srinagar, is not homogeneous in composition. Here live Kashmiris, Dogras and Ladkhis; the inhabitants of Kashmir include Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and members of other nationalities and religions. But when we drove through the streets of Srinagar, we felt that we were being welcomed in equal degree by people of all religions and nationalities. This was expressed both in the mottoes of welcome and in the kind words addressed to us by the inhabitants of Srinagar.

All this was linked with the name of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who enjoys here, as in the other states of India, immense popularity and prestige. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All this indicates that the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, though of different nationalities and different faiths, live together harmoniously and want to work effectively for the welfare of their motherland, the Republic of India. (*Applause.*)

Friendly co-operation of peoples is something we understand and dearly prize. Our country is multi-national in composition. In it live people of many faiths. But this does not give rise to any misunderstanding, and the Soviet people live and work together in one harmonious family. (*Applause.*)

Religion is a matter for the conscience of each individual, and of each nation. Our delegation includes Jabar Rasulov, Zukhra Rakhimbabayeva and Sharaf Rashidov, representatives of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, whose peoples profess the Mohammedan faith. But in what way do our Mos-

lems differ from members of other faiths? We make no such distinction, because all the peoples of our country are worthy members of the great Soviet Union, and constitute one family of nations. (*Applause.*)

We in the Soviet Union have effectively solved the national problem and the problem of freedom of religion. Every citizen of our country may worship in the way he thinks fit.

I say this in order that you may have a clearer idea of our attitude to this question. There are states which still seek to sow discord among the peoples of India by stirring up national enmity or dividing the peoples on religious lines. Official representatives of these states attempt to foment artificial conflicts.

But is this to the benefit of India and her peoples? We think that it is to the detriment of the interests both of India as a whole and of the peoples of India.

The peoples want to have the opportunity to work, to raise their cultural standards, and to live in material security. They want to have a state of their own which is free and not dependent on the whims of imperialist states.

But does all this depend on the faith this or that people professes? I think not. (*Applause.*)

In order to enjoy the political freedoms and to be able constantly to raise one's educational standards and to live in material security, there is no need to base one's state on one particular religion. What is necessary is that the people shall be free, that there shall be no exploitation of man by man. (*Applause.*)

We have never attempted to force our views or our form of government on anyone. The peoples of each country can, and should, themselves decide what form of government to choose, and what ideology to adhere to. But we want to record the fact that the path chosen by our people has led

to the unfolding of all their constructive energies, has created immense potentialities for the continuous progress of their national economy and culture, and for the promotion of the welfare of the broad masses of the people.

Why has the so-called Kashmir question arisen at all? It did not arise among the people. Certain states find it to their advantage to foment animosity among the peoples of countries which are emancipating themselves from colonial oppression, which are throwing off their age-old subjection to alien oppressors. (*Applause.*)

In this, the monopolists are solely pursuing their own ends. They incite some of the peoples of these countries against others, so as to bring these countries under greater economic subjugation and make them dependent on their will.

It is hardly necessary for me to name the states which are constantly straining the Kashmir issue, for this is widely known. Nor do these states themselves particularly conceal their interest in further straining the issue.

The Kashmir question was discussed in the Security Council, and the representative of the Soviet Union clearly set forth our view, the Soviet view, on this question.

Our attitude to this question is as clear-cut and definite as it could be. The Soviet Union has always maintained that the political status of Kashmir is a matter to be decided by the people of Kashmir themselves, in accordance with the principles of democracy and in the interest of promoting friendly relations among the peoples of this area. (*Prolonged applause.*) While maintaining an impartial and objective attitude to the Kashmir issue, the Soviet Union has always expressed its sincere sympathy with the people of Kashmir and their peace-loving democratic forces, who have established friendly relations with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the Republic of India, which is fully cognizant of the national aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

The facts show that the inhabitants of Kashmir do not want Kashmir to be a plaything of imperialist forces. (*Stormy applause.*) And this is precisely what certain powers are striving for on the pretext of supporting Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue.

If I may, I should like to state my opinion generally concerning the division of India into two states. We, the friends of India, were grieved that the imperialist forces succeeded in dividing India into two parts: India and Pakistan. Before the Indian people won the independence of their country, India was united. It was not in the interest of the peoples of India that India was divided. But precisely for this reason, passions were kindled over the different religions of the peoples of India, though religion has never been the chief consideration when any state was established.

One might cite our country as an example. In the Soviet Union there are more than 15 million Moslems, as well as members of other religions. And despite the different faiths, the peoples of our country live in fraternal friendship. They have created, and are constantly strengthening, a united state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a socialist country. (*Applause.*)

Consequently, it was not the different religious faiths of the population that was the chief consideration in establishing Pakistan and separating it from the united India. Other states, who conduct their policy in accordance with the old principle of "divide and rule," had an active hand in the matter. They exploited the existence of different religions for the furtherance of their own ends.

We are firmly convinced that when passions subside and the peoples come to realize all the significance of this artificial division of the territory of India, they will regret it.

But the establishment of two separate states—India and Pakistan—is a decided issue, and I have not stated

my opinion on this score so frankly in order that the question might be re-examined in any quarter. I note it as a fact. And inasmuch as the two states exist and are developing, it is scarcely necessary now to redraw their boundaries, as certain powers would like to do. (*Applause.*) We know that changes of frontiers are always a painful process and involve bloodshed.

That Kashmir is one of the states of the Republic of India has been decided by the people of Kashmir. It is a question that the people themselves have decided. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*) I think the two sides should display greater determination to preserve peace in this area, as both India and Pakistan can develop only in conditions of peaceful co-existence. (*Applause.*)

Very good and friendly relations have developed between us and the Republic of India. (*Applause.*) They have so developed because we build our relations on the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. We have common views on very many international issues. We adhere to a common position in condemning the formation of military blocs and military alignments of any kind. The Governments of our countries pursue a policy which helps to relax international tension and prevent war.

The independent and sovereign Republic of India is a young and growing state. What draws us together is that it is actively striving for world-wide peace.

Just as we do not interfere in the internal affairs of India, so India does not interfere in our internal affairs. (*Applause.*) The internal affairs of every state are a matter for the people of that state.

If in the Republic of India we see an ally in the effort for peace, for the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, this, unfortunately, cannot be said of Pakistan.

Pakistan is also a young state. But we are alarmed by the

policy of its rulers. The facts show that their policy is not guided by the vital interests of their people, of their state, but is dictated by the monopoly circles of other countries. The present Government of Pakistan frankly advertises its particular closeness with American monopoly circles. (*Animation.*) It was one of the first participants in, one of the sponsors of, the notorious Baghdad pact, the aim of which is anything but peace. (*Animation.*) It has sanctioned the establishment of American military bases on its territory—that is, in close proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union.

We say frankly that the establishment of American military bases in Pakistan cannot but arouse our alarm. With the active participation of Pakistan, further efforts are now being made to enlarge the membership of the Baghdad pact. It is a regrettable fact that the Government of Iran has bowed to the imperialist forces and has acceded to this pact.

We say frankly that we never have supported and never shall support the parties to the Baghdad pact, or to any other alliance directed against the Soviet Union.

We should be politically blind if we acted otherwise. It is obvious to all that the Baghdad pact is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other peaceable countries. It is therefore our task to weaken this belligerent alliance, one of the hotbeds of possible warlike ventures.

We sincerely want the peace-loving, independent Republic of India to grow in stature and strength. (*Stormy applause.*)

We have learned of the following unfriendly act of the Pakistan Government. The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan was called to the Foreign Ministry and recommended that my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, and I should give up our visit to Kashmir, decline the invitation of the chief of your state to visit Srinagar and other parts of your state. (*Burst of laughter.*)

This can only be taken as an unprecedented instance of interference in the affairs of others. Never before has a third state permitted itself to tell us where to go, and why, and what friends we should choose. (*Animation and applause.*)

We very much dislike the Baghdad pact, one of the most active participants in which is Pakistan, though without benefit to itself or its people. But we are patient and are confident that the Baghdad pact will burst like a soap bubble, and that nothing will remain of it but an unpleasant memory. (*Animation and stormy applause.*)

The representative of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry also told our Ambassador that the Pakistan Government would not like us to visit Afghanistan, a neighbour of our country. (*Animation.*) But that is already going far too far, and those who make such recommendations are taking much too much upon themselves.

Afghanistan is our good neighbour, with whom we have long maintained friendly relations. (*Applause.*) We want to develop and strengthen these relations, and we hope that our visit to Afghanistan will facilitate this. (*Applause.*)

We should very much like to have similar relations with Pakistan, and it is not our fault that such relations have so far not developed. But we shall persistently strive to improve these relations in the interest of peace.

The Soviet Union has always stood for world peace, for friendship between nations and between states. We were enjoined to follow this course unswervingly by the great Lenin. (*Stormy applause.*) And we shall follow this course undeviatingly, strengthening and extending our friendship with all states and nations.

Long live friendship and co-operation between the Republic of India and the Soviet Union! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

**SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO PEASANTS OF STATE OF PUNJAB,
DELIVERED IN VILLAGE OF BHATGAON**

December 12

After thanking the inhabitants of Sonapat District on his own behalf and on behalf of N. A. Bulganin for the hearty welcome given them, N. S. Khrushchov said they were very glad to be guests of the Indian peasants that day.

The Soviet Union, he noted further, had demonstrated in practice what rapid progress the peasants can make when the conditions for it are created. He conveyed to the audience, and through it to all the peasants of India, the wishes of the Soviet Union's collective-farm peasantry for the flowering of their spiritual and material forces. He emphasized that the road to the peasantry's material and spiritual advancement lies through the development of machine methods of production, through the supply of the countryside with machinery, and wished the people of India success in this work.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

**AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY N. A. BULGANIN AND
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN HYDERABAD PALACE, DELHI**

December 12

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends,

Our stay in India is drawing to an end. We have spent almost three weeks in your country and thanks to the opportunity kindly given to us by your Government and Mr. Nehru we have been able to see many towns and regions of India, visit many enterprises and construction sites, plantations and scientific institutions; we have been to the West and South, to the East and North of your country; we have acquainted ourselves with your people and gorgeous monuments of ancient culture and economy. For all this we are very grateful to you.

We have seen a lot of fine things during our trip. We have found out many useful things. At present I should like to touch on a point which, to my mind, is very important.

The sincerity and strength of the sentiments displayed by the Indian people for us have shown with great force that the Indian people are loyal friends of the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) We have seen a lot with our own eyes, we came into contact with representatives from different social strata, we heard from the mouth of the people themselves about their wishes, their aspirations and what makes up their life.

We will never forget the fine words which we heard everywhere we went: "The Indian and the Soviet peoples are brothers." (*Applause.*) These few simple words reflect the sincere desire of our peoples for friendship and co-operation.

We are deeply convinced that friendship and co-operation between our peoples are necessary not only for the happiness and prosperity of our states, they are needed also for the strengthening of peace and security. Friendship between India and the Soviet Union is a weighty contribution to peace which the enemies of peace cannot disregard. I propose a toast to the further development of friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union, to the health of Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
OVER ALL-INDIA RADIO

December 13

Dear friends,

I am very grateful for this opportunity to speak over the Indian radio.

Tomorrow we leave hospitable India, carrying away with us many fond and indelible memories of your country and your people. We shall never forget our friendly meetings with the people, or the hearty welcome they gave us.

We visited many towns and districts during our stay in India. We went to construction projects and factories in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Madras and Sindri, we saw centres of agricultural reconstruction, a number of scientific institutions, and wonderful gems of ancient architecture. We also acquainted ourselves with the life and work of your multi-national people, and with their art.

What made the biggest and most unforgettable impression on us was the people, their enthusiasm and energy, their buoyant youth, their talent and industry, their unswerving desire for peace and co-operation with all peace-loving nations. Everywhere we went, the Indian people met us with hospitality and cordiality. We saw, everywhere, an expression of sincere and ardent friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We have visited your country at a very important time in its history, when, after a long period of colonial oppression, the Indian people have gained the right to shape their own destiny.

In her few years of political freedom India has made great progress. India now plays a big role in the settlement of major international problems.

As we have seen for ourselves, the Indian people also have registered big achievements in advancing their economy, in industrial development.

The friendly relations established between our countries make it possible to promote all-round economic, scientific and cultural co-operation. We are always ready to share our scientific and technical experience, our experience in construction, should India require it.

Our visit to India has helped to reach agreement on a number of major problems pertaining to the continued expansion of economic, scientific and technical co-operation between our countries. It has enabled us to continue our talks with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, and to establish contact with other leaders of the Indian state. This personal contact has reaffirmed that our countries have a common aim: to live in friendship, to preserve and consolidate world peace, to promote among the nations confidence in their morrow.

You well know that the relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are built on a solid and reliable basis, on the Five Principles, *Panch Shila*.

The Soviet Union steadfastly adheres to the Leninist principles of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India are a graphic example of friendship and co-operation between states with different political systems.

Our exchange of views with Mr. Nehru and a number of other Indian government leaders has shown that the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of India have full understanding on all questions of Soviet-Indian relations, and also that their opinions concur on many major international problems. We are confident that the good-neighbourly relations and friendship between our countries will grow and strengthen. This will exercise a beneficial influence both on the development of our countries and on the consolidation of world peace.

In conclusion, I should like to note the exceptionally warm welcome given us in India, in every town and district we visited. I should like once again to thank your Government, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru personally, who did everything to make our stay in your country as pleasant and useful as possible.

I should like also to thank the governments and authorities in the states and cities we visited for the splendid organization of our tour and for their warm welcome.

I also express our sincere gratitude to the public organizations and citizens who warmly welcomed us and sent us sincere, heartfelt greetings. I deeply regret that time did not permit us to answer all the friendly invitations and greetings.

Once again my hearty thanks to you, our dear friends. Good-bye!

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
OVER ALL-INDIA RADIO
December 13

Our dear friends,

Citizens and citizenesses of the Republic of India,

We have been in your country for more than three weeks, during which we have visited many states, towns and villages, acquainting ourselves with India's splendid people and her rich and ancient culture.

We were deeply moved and touched by the friendly and most heartfelt reception given us, as representatives of the Soviet Union, both by the leaders of the Republic of India and by her people. This is something we shall never forget.

We had known of the Indian people's friendly feelings for the Soviet Union, but what we have seen and felt here surpassed all our expectations. They were indescribable meetings; it is hard to find words to express the feelings that welled up in our hearts.

In all the towns and villages we visited we heard and read mottoes of welcome in honour of the friendship between India and the Soviet Union. And most frequently of all we heard those simple words, coming straight from the heart, "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*"

These words particularly moved us, for they fully express our feelings as well, the feelings of the peoples of the Soviet Union towards the peoples of India. Yes, our peoples are brothers, brothers always, in easy times and in hard times.

The friendship between our peoples is a great, historic gain. It should be prized and strengthened to the utmost, for it is to the benefit of both our peoples.

We are eager to promote to the utmost the historical friendship between our countries which is growing stronger all the time. We realize, however, that to uphold universal peace friendship must be promoted not only with one nation, even though a great one, but with all nations. It is essential that friendship among all the nations of the world should constantly grow and broaden. This is what the peace-loving peoples of all countries and continents so sincerely and fervently desire. And we shall contribute in every way to that great and noble goal.

We hope that the development of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union will serve the cause of continued peace throughout the world and the development of our countries.

Industrial development is essential for the swift advancement of your country's economy. Without one's own national industry it is impossible to assure genuine state independence. We know that well from our own experience.

We have visited a number of Indian national factories and mills, including large industrial establishments, and the construction sites of hydro-electric stations. With what pride our Indian friends showed us all that!

We understand this pride, for in those establishments one can see the contours of India's future powerful industry, bulwark of her independence, of her national might.

In order to build such an industry you need your own, national cadres, particularly cadres of engineers and techni-

cians. These cadres are growing in your country. We saw young engineers and technicians, skilled builders, who have sprung from the ranks of India's intellectuals. They are burning with a desire to work for the welfare of their country.

But in order that you should have more such people we are ready to share with you our knowledge and the experience we have accumulated, so that your country might accomplish the complex and difficult task of building your own industry more quickly than our country did.

The reason we say this to you is not because we want to tell you what to do. No, we want to give the people of India, the Republic of India disinterested aid because we wish the free and sovereign Republic of India to develop and grow stronger.

The Soviet Union and India are following different paths of development. Our stand has always been that a country's path of development is exclusively an internal matter for its peoples.

Our relations with other states are based on the Five Principles, which are now shared by many countries. Peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems is now an indisputable fact.

During our stay in India we have received a great number of warm greetings and invitations to visit many Indian towns and districts. We regret that the comparative briefness of our stay in your country prevented us from accepting them all. I should therefore like to take advantage of this occasion to thank all our friends in India — all those we met and those we regrettably were unable to meet — for their friendly words of welcome and their kind wishes.

We shall be glad to have any number of our Indian friends visit our own country. Visit us, see how we live and work, acquaint yourselves with our experience. You will always

meet with a most cordial reception from our people. Mutual exchange of delegations will promote a further consolidation of the friendship between our peoples.

Once again we express our gratitude to the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and to the Government of India for the honour of visiting your splendid country, for the opportunity to see for ourselves your country and your industrious and talented people.

Good-bye, dear friends, until new friendly meetings!

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT MEETING WITH INDIAN M.P.'S, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTION OF HINDI LANGUAGE

December 13

Dear friends,

Allow me to thank you with all my heart on my own behalf and on behalf of Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin for your warm and heartfelt reception. We greet your association and consider its work to be highly useful and fruitful for the Indian people and their cultural advancement.

I must tell you frankly that before we came to your country we did not know it well enough. And we felt this most keenly when we arrived here. Our stay in India, brief as it has been, has helped us to fill in this gap to a considerable extent.

N. A. Bulganin and I have discussed the question of doing everything possible on returning from India so that Soviet people might have greater opportunities to learn the Indian languages, Hindi in the first place, and we promise you that we shall do this.

In order to know one another better, in order fully to develop economic and cultural ties between our countries, it is important to have direct contact, and a third language as a means of communication between our two great peoples can hardly be acceptable for long. We shall see to it that an educational institution is opened in our country in which

our best and most gifted youth could learn Hindi and other Indian languages. This will help to promote still better understanding between our peoples and make it possible for us to know one another better.

The British and American newspaper correspondents have been greatly annoyed with N. A. Bulganin and myself for our public speeches in your country and in Burma opposing the colonial regime. They have no cause for offence. I do not think that there is anything in what we have said against colonialism that could cause antagonism between peoples. Our speeches must be understood as a denunciation of colonial robbery and the colonial order. If some people do not like what we said, that is purely a matter for their own conscience, but we are against colonialism and we shall continue to say so always and everywhere.

We have no wish to incite anyone against the United States of America and Britain, nor do we intend to quarrel with them ourselves. The Soviet Union wants to live in friendship with those countries. But that does not mean that we should hide the truth, that we should tell everyone, including the advocates of the colonial regime, only what they want to hear. Can we say that the centuries of British rule in India have been of benefit to the Indian people? We could never say such a thing. It would be a crime to say that.

We speak of colonialism as an historical fact. I am surprised that our statements against colonialism, especially against the continuation of the colonial domination by Portugal of Goa and other Portuguese possessions on Indian territory have prompted certain statesmen in the United States to come out in support of the Portuguese colonialists, on the grounds that these possessions have been held by Portugal for nearly 400 years. No matter how many years have passed, stolen property remains stolen property and should be returned to its rightful owner. Stolen property

ought to be returned and, what is more, with interest. That is, of course, if one has a conscience. (*Stormy applause.*)

I should like to dwell on one other question. If I am not mistaken, the population of the Republic of India is 370 million. India thus has the second largest population in the world after China. This makes India one of the most powerful states on earth. (*Applause.*) The literature and art of the Indian people are on a very high level. India is one of the most ancient seats of world civilization. The talent of the Indian people and their cultural level are reflected in the many historical monuments which one can find in any corner of India. Many of these structures were erected several thousand years ago. All this testifies to the greatness of India and her people. But hitherto India has not officially been considered one of the great world powers. It is customary to count among the Great Powers the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France and China. For that matter, some Western politicians would like to deprive China too of the right to be considered a Great Power. Absurd as it is, in speaking of China they usually imply the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan Island. And so, the five countries I mentioned are considered Great Powers. Looking at it objectively, however, the question naturally arises: why is India not considered a great country? Evidently because the colonialists want to belittle your country and your people. To recognize India as a Great Power would mean altering their position. But we believe that India is a Great Power and that she ought to rank among the leading Great Powers of the world. (*Applause.*)

Here is something else I should like to say. N. A. Bulganin and myself are being accused by some people of setting the East in opposition to the West. That, of course, is a downright invention. Our country represents both Europe and Asia. We have always been against setting any part of the world

in opposition to another, against the domination of any continent by another. (*Applause.*)

We want all nations to be independent and to develop as they wish; we want them to promote their economy and culture in every way and to live in peace and friendship. (*Applause.*)

We wish you success. We, for our part, will do everything in our power that the friendship between our peoples, between our two countries, may grow stronger and flourish. (*Stormy applause.*)

**PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN
BY N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN DELHI
*December 14***

On December 14 N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, held a press conference for Indian, Soviet and other correspondents in Delhi. More than 150 journalists representing leading Indian, Soviet and other agencies and newspapers were present.

N. A. Bulganin made the following statement.

STATEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE

We came to India on a visit of friendship at the invitation of the Indian Government. Our visit to India, like the friendly visit to the U.S.S.R. of Mr. Nehru last June, is of major significance for the further improvement of the friendly relations between our countries and for world peace.

You already know of the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration signed yesterday which sets forth the views of the statesmen of the Soviet Union and India on the most important aspects of the relations between the two countries, and on cardinal international issues. This declaration is not only highly important in strengthening further the friendly relations

between the Soviet Union and India; it is of great international significance as well.

During our stay in India we have visited a number of towns and regions, big construction projects, industrial enterprises in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, and Madras, agricultural reconstruction centres and scientific institutions, and have seen some remarkable monuments of ancient architecture. We have acquainted ourselves with the life and activities of the multi-national Indian people, with the progress they have made during the years of independence, and have formed some idea of the vast natural resources and the potentialities of India. We have been most profoundly and unforgettably impressed by the great Indian people, their buoyant children and youth, their talent and industry, their unswerving desire for peace and friendly co-operation with all countries. Wherever we went, we met with the hospitality and cordiality of the Indian people, evidence of their deep regard and friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We were also greatly impressed by what the Indian people are doing to develop their national economy, especially their efforts to advance industry, which is the foundation of economic progress, the prime guarantee of the independence of any country. The construction undertakings in the Damodar Valley and at Bhakra-Nangal, the projected construction of iron and steel mills, and the drafting of a new five-year plan are undoubtedly important measures undertaken by the Indian Government for the development of the country's economy.

India has all the conditions for the successful development of her national economy: vast natural resources, huge areas of fertile land and, what is most important, the inexhaustible creative forces of the talented and hard-working Indian people, who have built undying cultural monuments in the course of their long history. We Soviet people, who have some experience in economic planning, have formed the opinion

that India, with her present striving for economic development and for the full utilization of her material resources and manpower, will be able in a short time substantially to increase agricultural and industrial production and thereby considerably raise the living standards of her people.

The friendly relations that have been established between our peoples create favourable conditions for close economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between our two countries. The Soviet Union, as we have already said, is prepared to share its experience in the sphere of science and engineering on mutually advantageous conditions, to share its experience in economic planning and the construction of industrial enterprises and hydro-technical installations. It would also be glad to learn from the experience which the Indian people have accumulated in various branches of economy, science and culture. We believe that the expansion of cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union will serve to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our countries. We are happy to note that as a result of our visit to India and the talks we have had with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders agreement has been reached on a number of important questions connected with the further expansion of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India.

Our stay in India has left us with the firm conviction that the people of India are resolutely striving for peace and are ready to work vigorously for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. India is playing an increasingly important role in deciding international problems and establishing friendly relations between states. There is not a single serious problem in Asia—and not only in Asia—that can be settled today without the participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic. A striking example of the active and fruitful participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic in settling international issues is the part they played in

bringing about the termination of the war in Indo-China, and also their active participation in the work of the Bandung Conference, which played an outstanding role in reducing international tension and promoting co-operation among the Asian and African countries.

The Soviet Union and India are building and will continue to build their relations on the basis of the famous Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, inasmuch as these principles accord with the interests of all peace-loving nations, the interests of peace. These principles fully conform to the foreign policy which the Soviet Government has pursued ever since the inception of the Soviet state. They have already been endorsed by a number of countries and formed the basis of the decisions of the Bandung Conference. The acceptance of these principles by all other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would be an important step towards further relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence among nations. As for the Soviet Union, it always has pursued and will pursue a policy of peace and respect for the sovereign rights of nations, a policy of non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, a policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems. This policy is determined by the very nature of the Soviet state, which has invariably and consistently pursued a policy of peace.

We all know that there are many very pressing Far Eastern problems that still await solution. For one thing, the Indo-China problem can be fully and finally settled only on the basis of the decisions of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China. There must be no further delay in settling the important question of granting the Chinese People's Republic its rightful place in the United Nations, the question of Taiwan and the other coastal islands—inalienable parts of

C. P. R.'s territory—in accordance with the national rights of the Chinese people.

The Government of the Soviet Union has always been opposed to the organization of diverse military blocs in various parts of the world and to the creation of military bases on the territories of other states, inasmuch as the setting up of such blocs and bases constitutes a serious threat to peace and raises additional obstacles to the reduction of international tension and the consolidation of peace. We believe that genuine security of the nations can be ensured not by setting up military blocs, but by the joint, collective efforts of states aimed at strengthening peace. It is this that prompted the Soviet Government to submit its proposal to establish a system of collective security in Europe.

The present arms drive and the continued production and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons are a danger to peace and weigh heavily on the shoulders of the working people, who bear all the burden of military expenditure. We know that reduction of armaments, the full and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons are an urgent task confronting the states at the present time, and primarily the Great Powers. Until agreement is reached on this score, the Soviet Union will naturally be obliged to continue to concern itself with strengthening its own defence capacity and to produce atomic and hydrogen weapons. Under the circumstances we have no alternative.

We take leave of the hospitable land of India, filled with gratitude to the Indian people, their Government and the administration of the states we visited for the exceptionally warm reception we were accorded everywhere. This hospitable reception is evidence of the genuinely friendly feelings the Indian people cherish for the peoples of the Soviet Union. We assure our Indian friends that our Soviet people cherish the same warm feelings for the great people of India. We take

this opportunity to convey hearty fraternal greetings to all the people of India from the people of the Soviet Union.

We trust that the friendship and co-operation between our two countries will continue steadily to grow stronger and broader to the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of world peace.

Summing up the results of our tour and the impressions we carry away with us, I should like to dwell on two more questions which, for reasons we well understand, deeply affect the Indian people. We refer to the question of the Indian territory of Goa, unlawfully held by Portugal, and the so-called Kashmir problem.

In our public speeches in the course of our tour we have stated the position of the Soviet Union on these questions. The Soviet Union resolutely advocates the abolition of the remnants of the moribund colonial system. It believes that the peoples inhabiting territories unlawfully seized and brutally exploited for many decades by colonialists must themselves decide their own destinies.

It is common knowledge that Goa is Indian territory. Everyone knows that the population of that territory is bound by inseparable ties of kinship with their Indian motherland and cannot endure to be severed from her. We are convinced that this question will be settled in favour of the Indian people whether the colonialists want it or not. The colonialists will have to get out of territory that does not belong to them.

As for Kashmir, during our visit there we saw how greatly the Kashmirians rejoice in their national liberation, regarding their territory as an integral part of the Republic of India. And we are deeply convinced that the people of Kashmir will solve all their problems without outside interference. That question will be decided according to the wishes of the peoples of Kashmir themselves.

We believe that this statement will provide the answer to the many questions we have received yesterday and today from journalists. There were a great many of these questions. They could be divided into several groups.

Firstly, many of you are interested in a number of concrete aspects of Soviet-Indian economic co-operation, in the prospects of this co-operation, the spheres of economy it will extend to, etc. To this we may say that we are negotiating on this score with the Government of India at the present time. The initial results of these negotiations are known to you from the Joint Indo-Soviet Communiqué signed yesterday concerning economic relations between India and the U.S.S.R. We may also declare that there exist good grounds for the development of our economic relations on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

Secondly, many non-Indian journalists are asking with assumed alarm whether the U.S.S.R. intends to make the strengthening and development of its friendly relations with India conditional on India's rejection of business co-operation with the United States and other Western countries. Only those who are interested in sowing distrust between India and the Soviet Union could put the question thus. We have said and we repeat that we are for peaceful co-operation and friendship with all countries, the United States, Britain and France included. The fear that Indo-Soviet friendship might jeopardize the relations of India or the Soviet Union with other states is utterly groundless.

Thirdly, many correspondents want to know what are the further prospects of international relations. Some of them express concern at the fact that certain circles—which circles, you know yourselves—have begun to assert that the Geneva spirit is dead, that the time has come to renew the "cold war" at full force, and so on.

You see yourselves that there are some who are trying

to return to the "cold war" in connection with our visit to India and Burma and our forthcoming visit to Afghanistan. The things your irresponsible colleagues have been writing about our speeches! The garbled accounts they have given of them! But we Soviet people do not suffer from a lack of sang-froid. Abuse gets one nowhere. We calmly ignore such outpourings. "Dirt doesn't stick to the clean," as the saying goes.

As regards the substance of this question, we believe that the spirit of Geneva, which arose as a result of the fruitful meeting of the Heads of the Four Great Powers in Geneva last summer, has played a beneficent role and cannot be buried. We are for continuing and deepening international co-operation, for peaceful co-existence of all countries. And if the recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers in Geneva did not yield the results which the nations of the world expected of it, that, as we have said, was only because the situation was evidently not yet ripe. It shows that some Powers have not yet abandoned the "position of strength" policy long since condemned. It must be said with all firmness that so long as this position is adhered to, negotiations cannot yield any results.

At any rate the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Conference, as you know, submitted a good number of important and practicable proposals on the questions of collective security, reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons, expansion of international contacts, etc. It is therefore not our fault if no agreement has yet been reached. We shall continue to spare no effort for the settlement of these vital issues.

In the same connection many correspondents ask whether the time has not come to call a new conference of the Heads of the Great Powers, after the pattern of the Geneva Conference, to discuss the most important of the Far Eastern problems. We believe that this idea is worth supporting. Of course,

such a conference could produce favourable results only if all its participants cast aside the notorious "positions of strength" policy in examining the questions at issue. It goes without saying that the Chinese People's Republic and India should take part in such a conference.

We have received many questions concerning disarmament. We do not think it necessary to give once again a detailed exposition of our position on this question. It is sufficiently well known to you. The Soviet proposals on disarmament, submitted this year to the United Nations, open the way to a speedy and effective solution of the problem. And were it not for the sudden change in the position of the United States, which unexpectedly went back on its own earlier proposals, the solution of these problems might have been in sight. Some correspondents put the question thus: would the Soviet Union not agree to unilaterally reduce its own armaments to set an example to its Western partners?

We think you will agree that this is hardly a serious approach to the question.

How can the Soviet Union agree to unilateral disarmament at a time when our partners in the negotiations not only evince no intention of reducing their own armed forces, but, on the contrary, declare openly that they intend to build up their armaments still more? Under these circumstances, to undertake unilateral disarmament would be stupid and harmful not only for the Soviet Union but for all the peace-loving nations.

We are for disarmament on the clear and definite condition that our partners agree to disarm with us. We are for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons if our partners are prepared to do this simultaneously with us. We are for establishing strict international control over the carrying out of these measures provided there is a realistic approach to the solution of this task.

The fourth group of questions concerns the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. We appreciate the interest shown by Indian public opinion in the life of our country. In this connection we would be glad to see the Indian press represented by permanent correspondents in Moscow, as some of you have suggested here. We do not think it would be hard to solve the technical problems which are said to complicate the presence of permanent Indian correspondents in the U.S.S.R. at the present time. Judging by the questions put to us, India, like a number of other foreign countries, still lacks objective information about our life, about the specific aspects of our economic, social and political system.

For instance, it is asked: why is there only one party in the U.S.S.R.? This question evidently springs from a lack of understanding of the fundamentals of our socialist society.

As you know, it is in the nature of the bourgeois class state to have many parties; parties reflect and uphold the interests of their respective classes, and each class naturally has a party of its own. In the Soviet Union, as a result of the victory of socialism, an entirely new, socialist society has been established, in which there are no antagonistic classes, no groups whose interests might clash and conflict. Today we have a homogeneous society, a society which is strong by virtue of its unity and solidarity.

Pre-revolutionary, tsarist Russia had many parties.

There was a party of the capitalists, a party of the landlords, a kulak party which ambitiously called itself the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and a party of the working class, the Bolshevik Party, founded by the great Lenin. This party was able to rally the working class to the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, against the tsarist regime. It was able to secure the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This Party was able to win to the side of the working class the progressive intelligentsia, and under its lead-

ership the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out, the exploiting classes were defeated and abolished, and a new, socialist society was built. Now the Soviet people are successfully building a communist society. Whom could a party of capitalists and landlords represent today in the Soviet Union? We have no capitalists or landlords, and hence the question of having such a party cannot even arise. Whom could a kulak party represent today in our country? With the establishment of the collective-farm system, we put an end for ever to the old economic system in the countryside which daily and hourly gave rise to capitalism. Our young people today know about the kulaks only from books and from the accounts of people of the older generation.

Soviet society is a society of working people, of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. As has been recorded in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle for the construction of a communist society, the leading force of all the working people's organizations, both public and state.

Such is our society and such our system. We do not seek to impose it upon anyone, but, frankly speaking, we believe that it is the best system. There are people who try to make it appear as if the spread of communist ideas all over the world is the result of some sort of intrigues on the part of the U.S.S.R., yet everybody knows that long before the October Revolution communism existed in Europe and the communist doctrine founded by Marx and Engels had struck root in the toiling masses.

In this connection we would like to dwell also on another question put to us by some correspondents—concerning the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, or Cominform, as it is sometimes called. The activities of this organization to which the Communist Parties of a number of European

countries belong and whose aim it is to exchange information and experience in the struggle of the working class for emancipation, worry all those who would like to perpetuate the old system of exploitation of man by man, which has outlived its time.

Sometimes the question is put thus: Is there no way of abolishing the Cominform? But, after all, why should the Communist Parties deprive themselves of this generally accepted form of international contact and co-operation? Why, for instance, do those who seek the abolition of the Cominform not object to the activities of the Socialist International, which unites the Social-Democratic Parties? Why should they consider it natural and legitimate for capitalists to unite in international monopoly combines and meet regularly in order jointly to transact their business, while denying the working class the right to give effect to the great slogan of international solidarity, "Workers of all countries, unite!" proclaimed by Marx and Engels and corresponding to the vital interests of all the working people?

We have always stood and always will stand for the strengthening and development of international co-operation of the working class in defence of the vital interests of all working people, and in the struggle for peace.

The Communist Parties, which stand guard over the interests of the working class and all working people, follow the most progressive and humane of all teachings—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the application of which in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies has so brilliantly proved its worth.

This teaching is spreading more and more over the whole world. We are against any "export of revolution," as Lenin said, for to speak of anything of the kind would be unscientific.

ic. Progressive ideas inevitably make their own way and triumph over old, outdated ideas. Thus it has always been, thus it will be in the development of human society.

Such are the remarks we wished to make in connection with your questions.

Allow me in conclusion to thank you for your attention.

Good-bye.

* * *

At the close of the press conference N. S. Khrushchov thanked the Indian journalists for their impartial and truthful reporting of the visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov to India, and observed that such unbiassed reporting serves to strengthen friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT AIRFIELD IN DELHI ON LEAVING
INDIA FOR AFGHANISTAN
December 14

Mr. Prime Minister, friends,

The time has come for us to leave your hospitable land.

We have seen and learned a great many fine things during our tour of India. It is hard to describe the wealth of impressions we have obtained in the course of our eventful visit. Most unforgettable of all were our meetings with the people of India, who gave such a sincere expression of their friendly feelings for the Soviet Union. We shall tenderly cherish these friendly feelings in our hearts.

In the course of our visit we have seen something of India's past, the unforgettable monuments of your ancient culture, created by the skilled hands of Indian craftsmen.

We have seen your present too—your towns and rural localities, and the efforts which the people and the Government of India are devoting to the development of your industry and agriculture.

We wish you success with all our heart.

The most important result of our visit to India is that it will strengthen and promote still further the friendship between our nations. The friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples is a great historical achievement.

Personal contact between our Governments, which began with the visit of Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union, has been deepened and consolidated by our visit to India. During our stay here we have had extremely useful talks with Mr. Nehru and other members of the Government of the Republic of India. These talks were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

The Joint Declaration which was signed yesterday is a document of great historical significance. It is an important contribution to the cause of peace.

Permit me to express to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to the Government of India and all the Indian people our most profound gratitude for your hospitality and your affection for us.

Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!

Good-bye!

Namaste!

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT AIRFIELD IN DELHI ON LEAVING
INDIA FOR AFGHANISTAN

December 14

Dear friends,

In a few minutes we shall leave the capital of the country of the great Indian people.

The reception we have been accorded by the Government and the people of India has been exceptionally warm and cordial. I wish once again to express my gratitude and appreciation to the esteemed Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, the President of the Republic of India, Mr. Prasad, the Government of India and the great Indian people for the courtesy and kindness shown us throughout our stay in India.

In the course of our visits to the different towns and states of India we constantly heard many kind, ardent words about the friendship between our peoples. This friendship will continue to grow ever stronger, for it is surely one of the sources of strength for world peace.

We are happy that our visit to the Republic of India has served this noble cause. But our trip and our talks with the leaders of India would not have yielded such tangible and valuable results had we not met with the necessary understanding on the part of our Indian friends.

The identity of the views of India and the Soviet Union on



The signing of the Joint Declaration by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India

— *Indian Information Agency*
(Radio Photo)



The citizens of Rangoon welcome N. A. Bulganin,
N. S. Khrushchov and Prime Minister U Nu

the further strengthening of friendship between our two countries and on major international issues has found expression in the joint Soviet-Indian Declaration signed yesterday.

Dear friends, when Mr. Nehru, on the termination of his tour of the Soviet Union, took leave of our country and its people he said that he had left a part of his heart in our country. And now as we take leave of you, of the great people of India, I realize how true are these simple but profound words. Part of my heart, too, will remain here in India. And in my heart there has grown and become firmly rooted an ardent love for India and her people. We are happy to have gained so many great, good friends here; we are happy that the friendship between our two countries has become stronger than ever.

Never has the friendship of our peoples and countries been darkened by enmity or conflict. And we are deeply convinced that it never will be. We shall do everything in our power to foster the friendship between the peoples of our countries so that it may be eternal and unbreakable.

Good-bye, dear friends! Till we meet again!

Namaste!

VISIT TO BURMA

December 1-7, 1955

STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT MINGALADON AIRFIELD, RANGOON,
ON ARRIVAL IN BURMA

December 1

Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends, ladies and gentlemen,

Today, upon arriving in Rangoon, capital of the Union of Burma, we extend greetings and best wishes to you, the Government and the glorious people of Burma on behalf of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.

The Soviet Union and Burma are separated by thousands of kilometres. But there is a force which disregards such obstacles as long distances. This force is the common striving of the Soviet and Burmese peoples to establish complete understanding between both countries, to strengthen and develop friendship and mutually advantageous co-operation between them for the good of universal peace and security.

A short while ago esteemed Prime Minister U Nu visited the Soviet Union and was able to see the life of the Soviet peoples and the achievements of Soviet industry, agriculture and culture. His visit was of great importance for strengthening friendship and co-operation between our two countries.

We accepted with great satisfaction and gratitude Premier U Nu's invitation to visit Burma. The Burmese Government's contribution to the maintenance and strengthening of peace in Asia and throughout the world and the efforts of the peo-

ples of Burma to ensure the economic independence of their homeland arouse the warm sympathy and interest of the Soviet people.

We should like to learn more about the life and work of the people of Burma who have won their independence by selfless struggle against colonial oppression.

We are confident that our visit to Burma and our acquaintance with the Burmese people, their ancient culture and their successes in the restoration and development of their country's economy will greatly contribute to the further development of understanding between the Governments and the peoples of our countries and to the further strengthening of friendly relations between them.

Long live friendship and co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Burma! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION IN RANGOON CITY HALL
December 1

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, esteemed Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, friends,

Allow me, first of all, cordially to thank the Government of the Union of Burma and Premier U Nu personally for the invitation to visit your ancient and glorious country. It is with great satisfaction and gratitude that we have availed ourselves of this kind invitation.

Allow me also to convey to you and the entire Burmese people the friendly and heartfelt greetings of the multinational Soviet people who entertain towards the Burmese people sentiments of sincere respect and unselfish friendship.

Your people have endured the hardships of colonial rule, foreign intervention and destructive war. The Soviet people, reared on Lenin's great ideas of equality and self-determination of nations, followed with sympathy the Burmese people's heroic struggle for their national independence and were happy when that struggle was crowned with success.

It is known that the relations between the Soviet Union and Burma are now founded on the unshakable principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation. These principles, which have become widely known, were solemnly reaffirmed a while ago in the Joint Soviet-Burmese Declaration.

Recently, friendship and business ties between the peoples of Burma and the Soviet Union have been further developed, as witnessed by the Soviet-Burmese trade agreement concluded on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, the exchange of cultural delegations and also technical co-operation.

An important factor in the further development of the spirit of co-operation and confidence in the relations between our countries was Premier U Nu's visit to the Soviet Union and his first-hand acquaintance with various aspects of the Soviet people's life.

The proclamation of the independence of your country, which has taken the path of national freedom and economic revival, is one of the indications of the tremendous changes that have taken place of late in Asia.

The peoples of the East have awakened to an active political life. Their struggle against imperialism and colonialism has assumed an unprecedented sweep. We are witnessing the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. Some people try to ignore these historic shifts in Asia, try not to notice them, but these shifts are a fact and exert an enormous influence on international affairs.

Working for the consolidation of their independence and sovereignty, fighting against all manifestations of colonialism, the Asian countries emerge as a new powerful factor in world relations.

The historic Asian-African Conference in Bandung is the best testimony to the growing role of the East in international affairs. The principles of the peaceful co-existence

of countries with different social and political systems adopted at that conference, are regarded by the Soviet Union as a substantial contribution to the consolidation of peace and international co-operation.

We hope that the forthcoming second conference of Asian and African countries will make a new important contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace and will promote the further easing of international tension and the development of co-operation among nations.

The just struggle of the Asian peoples for their national liberation meets with the deep sympathy and moral support of the Soviet people. From the very early days of its existence the Soviet Government has resolutely condemned the policy of imperialist conquests and colonial oppression, and has annulled all the unequal treaties concluded by the tsarist government with the countries of the East. We stand for the equality of all peoples, big and small.

In its foreign policy the Soviet Government invariably adheres to Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence between states having different social systems.

The Soviet Union pursues a policy of peace and friendship between peoples, a policy of active struggle for peace, against war and foreign interference. We stand for the solution of all international problems by negotiation and agreement.

The Asian peoples are also for peace and are waging a struggle against the danger of war. We are profoundly gratified that in this noble cause the Soviet people and many Asian peoples hold the same view-points and stand together as allies.

The Soviet Union exerted much effort to ensure the success of the Geneva Four Heads of Government Conference which played an important role in easing international tension and in re-establishing confidence in relations between states.

Pursuing a policy of peace and striving to solve one of the most important world problems—the problem of disarmament—the Soviet Government decided to reduce its armed forces by 640,000 men. The Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Austria. The fact that the Soviet Union has no military bases in foreign territories is positively assessed by all the peace-loving peoples.

The Soviet Union has submitted constructive proposals on disarmament which is one of the cardinal problems of our time. It is our deep conviction that atomic and hydrogen weapons must be banned, and conventional armaments considerably reduced. An effective international control must be established to supervise the implementation of these measures. We also hold that the countries which took part in the Geneva Conference must, simultaneously with the beginning of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Burmese people and their Government are also for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for the reduction of armaments. This is a serious contribution to the cause of peace and the establishment of confidence among nations.

The peace-loving policy of the Union of Burma is very much appreciated by our people who highly appraise the efforts exerted by the Government of your country in the struggle for peace.

At present your people are striving to surmount the difficulties you have inherited from the colonial past, to strengthen the country's economy and industry. On behalf of the Government and the Soviet people I wish you success in the development and prosperity of your country. It is in the interest of both our countries to expand our friendly and business ties.

We thank you, friends, for the warm and hearty reception accorded us. The days we shall spend on Burmese soil will leave many pleasant memories.

Long live friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma! (*Applause.*)

May Soviet-Burmese friendship grow stronger to the benefit of the peoples of both countries, for the good of world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT DINNER GIVEN BY BA U, PRESIDENT
OF UNION OF BURMA

December 1

N. A. Bulganin proposed, in reply, a toast to the health of the President of the Burmese Union, to the health of the Burmese Prime Minister, and to friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Burma and the Soviet Union.

Addressing the President, N. A. Bulganin expressed his own heartfelt gratitude, that of N. S. Khrushchov, and that of the friends accompanying them, for the warm and friendly words of welcome. "We were deeply moved," he said, "by the warm and sincere reception given us by the people of Rangoon. We are very happy to have an opportunity to make a first-hand acquaintance with Burma, with its life and its people. We feel that our visit to Burma and the opportunity for personal contacts will further friendly relations between our countries. You noted that our relations are based on the famous Five Principles. These principles of peaceful co-existence are attracting more and more countries desirous of consolidating peace and developing peaceful co-operation.

"The strengthening of friendship and the development of co-operation between our two countries will benefit not only our nations but also peace in Asia and throughout the world."

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

AT DINNER GIVEN BY U NU, PRIME MINISTER OF UNION OF BURMA

December 2

On my own behalf and on behalf of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev I thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your kind words.

We welcome with great satisfaction your statement that you were pleased with your stay in the Soviet Union. Our people always give a cordial and heartfelt welcome to friends.

You are not mistaken when you say that your visit to the U.S.S.R. has firmly convinced you of the Soviet people's desire to develop close relations between the Soviet Union and Burma, and of their regard and respect for the Burmese people.

Our states have different social and political systems. However, that does not prevent us from living in friendship and from developing peaceful co-operation, for our peoples ardently desire to preserve and consolidate peace, which all nations need in order to work calmly, without fear, for the welfare of mankind.

Our policy towards other countries is always a policy of respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and equality and mutual advantage in the sphere of commerce and cul-

tural relations. This is the basis on which our relations with the Burmese Union are built.

We are gratified that our personal contacts with you in Moscow, contacts continued here, have contributed to the establishment of deeper mutual understanding on a number of international problems as well as on relations and co-operation between our two countries and the development of friendship between our peoples.

We have been in your country only two days, but we have seen and been convinced that the people of Burma are filled with a sincere desire for peace and peaceful labour.

We are happy that the Burmese people have achieved certain successes in wiping out the bitter consequences of colonial domination, foreign intervention and the destructive war. From the bottom of our hearts we wish you further and still greater progress for the welfare and prosperity of your country.

Mr. Prime Minister, we heartily welcomed the wish you expressed to us in Moscow that a firm foundation be laid for friendly relations between our two countries. Friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Burma are now a fact. Let us develop and strengthen these relations between our states.

Long live friendship and co-operation between Burma and the Soviet Union!

Long live world peace!

(In conclusion, N. A. Bulganin proposed a toast to the health of Prime Minister U Nu.)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT DINNER GIVEN BY SAO HKUN HKIO,
HEAD OF SHAN STATE
December 3

In reply, N. A. Bulganin proposed a toast to the health of the Burmese President, the Burmese Prime Minister, and the Head of the Shan State. Addressing Sao Hkun Hkio, he expressed his thanks for the hearty welcome and the hospitality shown him and N. S. Khrushchov in the Shan State.

"We representatives of the Soviet people," he said, "were deeply moved by the sincere and hearty feelings of your people, whom we met on the wonderful lake during the thrilling boat races. We see in their feelings towards us a striking demonstration of friendship between our peoples. Mountains and thousands of kilometres are now between us and Moscow. But here among you we see that our peoples are friends despite the distance separating them. They are united by a common desire for peace and friendship among nations."

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT DINNER GIVEN BY SAO HKUN HKIO,
HEAD OF SHAN STATE

December 3

Friends, brothers,

I fully agree with everything my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin has said here. Today we were moved and gladdened by the warm welcome you and your people have accorded us. (*Applause.*)

We were very happy to feel the brotherly love and sincere sentiments entertained by the people of Burma for the people of the Soviet Union, for our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why has such affection for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people developed? I think it is because our people under the leadership of the Communist Party, having taken the power in their own hands, have built a mighty socialist state. The workers, peasants and working intellectuals waged a resolute struggle against all oppressors and under the leadership of their Party achieved great results. The Soviet people have shown the whole world what the working people can do if they are fighting for their vital interests, for their freedom and independence, for their homeland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Before our state came into being, the working people were taught to believe that states could be governed only



The Soviet leaders are photographed here during a visit to the residence of Prime Minister U Nu



While in the Shan State, N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov attended a national water sports festival arranged in their honour on Lake Inle. Here Bulganin is seen presenting a trophy to the winners of a boat race

by those supposedly chosen to do so by God, and that the common folk, those born in peasant huts and in working class quarters, were unfit for the task. Our state has shown and proved that if the popular masses are given an education, then every person can take an active part in the administration of the state.

Certain bourgeois papers are highly displeased with me for my statements in India and Burma. But I am speaking here not for their pleasure. (*Animation, applause.*)

Why are they dissatisfied? Because I cannot speak about the colonialists with approval. For many decades foreign colonialists oppressed you and robbed your country. They say the purpose was to civilize the Burmese people. (*Animation.*)

We say otherwise: the colonialists stayed in your country in order to rob your people, to take their last piece of bread away. That is why newspapers in certain countries dislike such statements. As the saying goes, the naked truth is often hard to take.

But I cannot be hypocritical. I represent the working people and the Communist Party, and I have nothing to say in defence of the colonialists. (*Animation, prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people are sincerely glad that you have thrown off the colonial yoke and are now building your independent state. We are ready to help you in your country's development, so that the colonialists shall never be able to oppress you again. We want you to work for yourselves, for your children; we want you to raise your cultural level, to be strong and independent. (*Stormy applause.*)

This is our sincere wish to you, friends. Such a wish can be made only by those who themselves were once oppressed.

I am of working-class origin. In pre-revolutionary

Russia I worked for the British, French and other capitalists who owned factories and mines in the Donets Basin, and I know what it is like to work for foreigners. That is why I understand so well your joy at having won your liberation.

The Soviet people rejoice at your achievements. We want to live with you as brothers and want nothing from you but friendship. Our people have everything required to produce all they need by their own means and resources. We work for ourselves and you work for yourselves. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But we can help each other—we can help you, and you can help us.

Yours is a young state. You do not as yet have your own engineers, nor the necessary experience. If you need assistance, tell us and we will help you. We will help you by providing engineers, and we will share our experience with you. (*Stormy applause.*)

The main thing in retaining the power you have won is to train your own cadres, to have engineers, scientists, specialists in every branch of economy. You must bring forward these forces from among your people, and we wish you success in this work.

The colonialists indoctrinated the oppressed peoples with the idea that the colonial peoples are unfit to govern their countries. This lie was intensively inculcated into the minds of the peoples in order to hold them in submission. But are not the Burmese just as gifted as, say, the Russians or the British? Nations are not divided into capable or incapable. If they are given equal opportunities they will achieve success in their development. (*Stormy applause.*)

This is the kind of speech for which certain bourgeois journalists do not like me. But as long as my heart beats I shall speak the truth. (*Stormy applause.*) I shall tire-

lessly speak the truth and rouse the people against falsehood.
(*Prolonged applause.*)

This is a noble task and everyone must lend his shoulder to it.

I propose a toast to free and independent Burma, to you, friends, to your glorious people who have so warmly welcomed us, envoys of the Soviet Union!

To your health, to your successes! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO REPRESENTATIVES OF CITY OF MANDALAY
December 4

Friends, brothers,

Allow me to subscribe to what my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin has already said here, allow me to thank you for your souvenirs, for your warm, friendly welcome.

The most precious souvenirs we shall carry away with us from your country will be the warm feelings you have expressed to us representatives of the Soviet people. (*Stormy applause.*) We want, in turn, to express our best wishes that you consolidate your state, advance your culture, spread knowledge among the people on a wider scale, train your own engineers, your own physicians, your own teachers. (*Applause.*) We are confident that your country will march on and on, because that is the desire of the people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Your country is rich in natural resources; you have the desire to work to the best of your ability for the benefit of your homeland, tapping these resources. You have manpower. With proper leadership you will be able to ensure your country's successful progress. (*Applause.*)

The colonialists who used to lord it in your country artificially held up your progress. We Europeans blush for those Europeans who oppressed you, who robbed you. (*Animation, applause.*) But not all Europeans think and act like

the colonialists, who believe that the white colour of their skin entitles them to rule those who have a dark skin. (*Applause.*)

I want to add that our country is both European and Asian. (*Applause.*) Furthermore, the greater part of our territory lies on the Asian continent. (*Applause.*) The Soviet men and women of both the European and Asian parts of our country greet you and wish you prosperity. (*Stormy applause.*)

Let us, then, co-operate still more closely and help each other in anything either of us may need. Let us, in doing so, adhere firmly to the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs. (*Applause.*) Every nation should be free to live the way it wants.

Let us work in common to promote world peace so as to prevent the possibility of another war being kindled.

I wish you success in your endeavours, and happiness! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

AT PARADE IN MAYMYO

December 5

Mr. Minister of Defence, generals, officers and soldiers,

We are grateful for the opportunity of making the acquaintance of your troops and taking this parade. We have come here on a visit of friendship at the kind invitation of your Prime Minister U Nu. We have been in your country only a few days, but the meetings we have had with the Burmese people in these days have confirmed with renewed force the fact that there is firm, unbreakable friendship between our peoples, between our countries.

The Soviet people, whose representatives we are, have sent us here to assure you that we wish to strengthen and develop still further this friendship which is of benefit both to the Union of Burma and to the Soviet Union. Let us continue strengthening our friendship, let us work together to consolidate world peace!

On behalf of the Soviet people, on behalf of all the friends who have come here with us and on my own behalf, I extend to you warmest greetings and wishes of success in your activities. We salute your army, which did a great deal to drive foreign invaders from your country. Your army overcame many a difficulty in that struggle, and it successfully accomplished its task.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT PARADE IN MAYMYO

December 5

Comrades, friends,

Allow me to thank Comrade Ba Swe, Minister of Defence, with all my heart for this opportunity of meeting you, representatives of the armed forces of the Union of Burma.

We have had many meetings with your government leaders and with the Burmese people during the few days of our stay in your country. These have been most interesting meetings. We are pleased to note that these meetings revealed the unity of our views on major questions. The Soviet Union is now wholly engrossed in peaceful development, in advancing its economy and culture and raising the people's living standard. It is these same tasks that the Burmese Government is now working to accomplish.

We want to be friends with all nations. We want to be friends with the peoples of Burma. And we are glad to see that you understand our desire.

My friendly wish to the generals, officers and soldiers of the Union of Burma is that you continue your technical improvement. We, like you, are compelled to maintain armed forces. We are training them in a spirit of love for their native land, in a spirit of readiness for sacrifice should this be required for defending the country against encroachment by foreign invaders.

I wish the same to your armed forces, so that they be prepared to uphold with honour the independence won at the

cost of blood. And for this you have to study the art of warfare, train your own military commanders, and strengthen the army's bonds with the people, so as to have people's armed forces loyally serving the people.

The maintenance of armed forces is a costly thing for any country. But we have to bear these expenses since we have had no consent to disarmament from other countries so far. We do not give up hope, however, that we shall be able to solve this problem. We shall spare no efforts to achieve understanding among all nations, put an end to the cold war and bring about, in this way, agreement on the reduction of armaments or over-all disarmament, as well as on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of effective international control.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Burma and the Soviet Union!

Long live world peace!

(The troops shout in unison: "Long live Bulganin! Long live Khrushchev!")

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT POLITICAL RALLY IN RANGOON
December 6

Dear friends, dear citizens of Rangoon,

We are happy to greet you, and in your persons the entire Burmese people, to convey to them the Soviet people's warm and friendly regards and to wish them further success in consolidating their sovereignty and independence. (*Stormy applause.*)

During our stay in your country we have visited a number of towns and historical places. We have everywhere been accorded a warm and hearty welcome, and we are grateful to the Burmese people for this manifestation of their friendly feelings for the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Burmese Prime Minister Comrade Nu was recently in the Soviet Union on a good will visit. The Soviet people welcomed him warmly and cordially. Comrade Nu and his companions saw for themselves that the peoples of the Soviet Union also entertain deep regard and friendship for the peoples of Burma. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people always gave the Burmese people moral support in their noble struggle against colonial oppression, in their fight for freedom and national independence. During the Second World War the Burmese people waged a stubborn

struggle against the Japanese imperialists which ended in the expulsion of the interventionists. After the war the Burmese people resolutely opposed the colonialists' attempts to re-establish alien rule in their country. This struggle for the national independence of their country brought them victory. (*Applause.*)

After the Burmese people threw off colonial oppression, the Soviet Union was one of the first to recognize the independence of the Union of Burma, and established friendly relations with it. (*Applause.*)

During his stay in Moscow Comrade Nu and the leaders of our country had a broad exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to both countries as well as on some international problems. This exchange of views has been continued during our stay in Burma. The talks have revealed unity of views on a number of international problems of major importance, including the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. (*Applause.*)

The policy of negotiations and agreements chosen by the peace-loving nations has clearly proved to be the only correct way of ensuring genuine international security.

In the past few years the world has undergone vast changes. The irrepressible urge of the oppressed peoples for independence and freedom is the sign of the times. The colonial system is collapsing despite the desperate efforts of the colonialists to retain their hold on the countries they are oppressing. The colonialists simply cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their positions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific area, they refuse to recognize the changes in the life of the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries which have embarked on the path of independent development. Their interference in the internal affairs of Korea and Indo-China brought about bloody wars which created a hotbed of another world war in this part of the globe.

It was the collective effort of the peaceful states, supported by world public opinion, that made it possible to put an end to the hostilities in Korea and Indo-China. (*Applause.*)

We note with gratification that Burma consistently advocated termination of the wars in those countries and the settlement of controversial issues by negotiation. Together with other peaceable countries the Burmese Government has opposed participation in the colonial powers' aggressive bloc, SEATO. (*Applause.*) Burma's peaceful foreign policy is approved by the progressive forces of the world. (*Applause.*)

The cessation of hostilities in the Pacific area was a major victory for the peace forces. (*Applause.*) However, there still are many outstanding issues in this area, and one of the most acute is the Japanese question. The Soviet Union is striving for its settlement, for it is aware of the hardships now facing the Japanese people. At the same time the peoples of the Soviet Union share the fears felt by Japan's neighbours who fell victim to Japanese militarism during the Second World War. That is why the Soviet Union, together with other peaceable countries, favours a settlement of the Japanese problem which would preclude the rebirth of Japanese aggressive militarism and Japan's conversion into a hotbed of another world war.

There still are many outstanding issues in Europe and other parts of the world. These problems tend to aggravate relations between states. The Soviet Government has lately taken a number of well-known steps to ease international tension. (*Applause.*)

All this created favourable conditions for the convocation of the Geneva Four Heads of Government Conference which led to a relaxation of tension in relations between countries.

After the Geneva Heads of Government Conference we did not slacken our efforts in this direction. As far back as May of this year the Soviet Government had worked out and submitted to the United Nations a plan on reduction of armaments and armed forces. It also put forth a plan on European collective security. Implementing the Geneva spirit, the Soviet Government reduced its armed forces by 640,000 men and also liquidated its only naval base on foreign soil, renouncing its right to use the Porkkala Udd base in Finland. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has always pursued its peaceful policy firmly and consistently. Now, as before, we stand for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. But we have no desire to disarm unilaterally while the Western countries are increasing their armaments. It would be silly if we made ourselves powerless against aggressive forces, if we were unable to check insane attempts by the imperialists to unleash war. That is why we are compelled not to relax attention to questions of our country's defence. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has come forth with a proposal on prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The Governments of the Western states, however, have rejected it, saying that they would go on piling up atomic bombs. Continuing their research work, our scientists and engineers recently exploded the most powerful hydrogen bomb to date. It was exploded at a high altitude in order not to endanger the population. This notwithstanding, we have again proposed strictly to prohibit the use of atomic weapons.

We are not preparing to attack anyone, we are not thinking of intimidating anyone. We want everyone to realize what war means so that they launch a resolute struggle against war, for armaments reduction by all countries, for strict prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union has firmly and consistently pursued and will pursue a policy of peace and co-operation among all peoples and countries. This policy, proclaimed in October 1917 in the first decree of the Soviet state, fully accords with the best interests of all the peoples of our multi-national Union, who are engaged in peaceful constructive endeavour. In our country everything is being done fully to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people. It is to this end that we draw up and carry out our five-year plans, build factories and plants, gigantic electric stations and railways. It is for the well-being of the people that we are cultivating virgin soil, extending the area planted to wheat and maize, vegetables and industrial crops, and striving to increase crop yields and livestock productivity. (*Applause.*)

In the 38 years since its inception the Soviet state has progressed tremendously. The Soviet people have turned a backward agrarian country into a mighty socialist power with first-class industry and highly mechanized agriculture.

The Soviet Union has done away with national oppression for ever. (*Stormy applause.*) In the years of Soviet rule the formerly backward and oppressed peoples of our country have achieved huge successes in their economic and cultural development and are now equal members of our family of nations. (*Stormy applause.*) We have really emancipated women, who now enjoy full equality and share actively in the new life. (*Stormy applause.*)

In the years of Soviet rule the U.S.S.R. has undergone a cultural revolution. There are no illiterate people in our country today. There is a country-wide network of schools and other educational institutions, clubs and libraries. The working millions in town and countryside have access to all the achievements of science and the treasures of culture.

Unemployment in the Soviet Union is a thing of the past. (*Stormy applause.*)

Everyone knows that during the Second World War the Hitlerite invaders devastated large areas of our country. The Soviet people had to expend huge sums and put in a vast amount of work to rebuild towns, villages, factories and plants, railways and highways in those areas.

Despite the difficulties they had to overcome, the Soviet people emerged victorious in the struggle for the progress and prosperity of their country. (*Applause.*)

Now that our country has accumulated vast experience in all the spheres of economic development and is in a position to share this experience and knowledge with other peaceable nations, the Soviet Union is co-operating willingly with other countries within the framework of the U.N. in rendering technical and economic assistance to underdeveloped countries (*applause*), whose economic development was long retarded by colonial regimes.

We understand the desire of the peoples who have freed themselves from colonial oppression, among them the Burmese people, to build up economic and cultural prosperity and carry out social and economic measures to improve the living standards of the masses. That is why we welcome extension of economic and cultural ties between our countries.

We also understand the deep and sincere desire of the Burmese peoples for peace, for without a durable and lasting peace economic and cultural progress is impossible. (*Applause.*)

The prevailing situation in the Pacific area and South-east Asia—the existence of such friendly Pacific powers as the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and neighbourship with peaceable India—has created

favourable conditions for the Burmese people to consolidate their national independence. (*Applause.*)

A gang of Chiang Kai-shek bandits has entrenched itself in your country and is committing outrages. I doubt that this gang could hold out so long if not for the assistance it is getting from Burma's enemies. But whatever they do, the colonialists stand no chance of regaining a foothold in any country from which they have been thrown out by the people who have gained their national independence. (*Applause.*)

We know that Burma is an agricultural country. Sale of agricultural products is at present the chief basis on which she can develop her trade with other countries. A surplus of these products has accumulated in a number of countries, and some states want to take advantage of this to dictate their terms to the Union of Burma.

The Soviet Union has always condemned such a policy. We want to develop mutually beneficial trade with Burma. And although our country is not a mass purchaser of rice, we shall do all we can to buy the largest possible amount of rice and other products which the Union of Burma exports. And with the proceeds from the sale of your goods to us, you will be able to buy our goods. (*Applause.*)

This trade will be mutually beneficial for both countries, without any political strings attached. It will serve further to develop our relations and strengthen our countries. (*Applause.*)

We are firmly convinced that the Burmese people will never allow anyone to interfere in their internal affairs and will do everything to advance the independent development of their country.

Dear friends, tomorrow we shall leave your hospitable country and return to your great neighbour, the Republic of India.

Our stay in India and Burma has enabled us to understand still better the vital interests of your countries. There are, however, certain gentlemen who do not like our visit to India and Burma, our speeches and our frank utterances. But we have always spoken the truth, and there are many who do not like the truth. As the saying goes, the naked truth is often hard to take. (*Applause.*)

That is why certain British newspapers have been irritated by the speeches made by Comrade Bulganin and myself in India. What annoyed them most was the part in one of my speeches in which I said that certain circles had given Hitler free rein in the war against the Soviet Union.

But then that is an historical fact.

Could Hitler have started a war if he had been opposed by the combined forces of Britain, France, the Soviet Union and other countries?

If the ruling circles in Britain and France at that time had really desired to check Hitler and prevent war, they would have stopped him from occupying Austria and would not have concluded the disgraceful Munich agreements.

It is well known that France was bound to Czechoslovakia by a treaty of mutual assistance. Yet, when Hitler launched his invasion of Czechoslovakia, the French Government refused to come to her aid, although it was well aware that the Soviet Union was ready to help immediately in curbing Hitlerite aggression. It is no secret that the Soviet armed forces were then put into readiness to repulse, together with the French forces, Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia. But the French Government refused to act.

Pre-war history convincingly proves that the Western Powers were making one concession after another to Hitler, pushing him against the East, against our country. But things turned out differently: the dog that the then ruling

circles of Britain, France and the United States were feeding with the intention of unleashing it against the Soviet Union, broke the chain holding it and attacked the feeders.

The question now arises: isn't there an analogy between the present and the pre-war period in the light of the steps that are being taken as regards the present-day Western Germany? Aren't these same countries using the same methods in their effort to push Western Germany on to the path of aggression and new adventures?

They have dragged Western Germany into NATO. They are allotting large sums for her armament and are supplying her with arms. Many Western leaders do not even deem it necessary to conceal that they are building up a West-German army against the Soviet Union.

Then why are you offended, Messrs. British newspapermen, when we recall certain facts of the past? (*Animation.*)

There is another thing I want to say. Russia never started a war against Britain, while Britain attacked our country in the past and in Soviet times. It would suffice to cite the Crimean War. The Russians did not invite the British to the Crimea to kill Russians on Russian soil. We might also recall the British intervention against our country during the Civil War. British forces occupied Arkhangelsk at a time the Soviet Republic was just gathering strength. They came not as friends but as enemies and shed the blood of our Soviet people on our Soviet soil until they were ejected. (*Stormy applause.*)

All these are historical facts and one can't escape them!

Let's recall, finally, the notorious order given by Mr. Churchill towards the end of the Second World War to his commander in Europe. Churchill at that time ordered that the weapons given up by the Hitlerite forces which surrendered be collected and stored, and those forces held in

preparedness, since he thought it possible that they might come in useful for action against the Soviet Union, although the Soviet Union was Britain's ally.

We are accustomed to speaking the truth and squarely facing the truth, even when it is unpalatable. (*Applause.*)

All our actions prove that we do not seek quarrels with the Western Powers. We stand for genuine friendship with Britain, France, the United States and other countries. We want to be friends with all the nations of the world. We not only want that, we are actively striving for world peace and for businesslike co-operation among countries. (*Stormy applause.*)

Some people, though, seem quite displeased by our very friendly relations with the peoples of India, Burma and other countries, not to mention our great friend and brother, the People's Republic of China, with which we are for ever bound by ties of the most enduring, sincere and selflessly fraternal friendship.

Yes, there are some people who are annoyed that we support the countries which have thrown off colonial oppression and are now advancing along the paths they themselves have chosen. We have always supported the national-liberation aspirations of these countries. And we are sincerely happy that they have not only acquired political freedom but are advancing along the new path, although this may not be to the liking of some people in Britain, France and the United States.

Some newspapers have been irritated by the truth about the past, but I am sure that they will not like the truth about the present either. But truth is truth, and I must speak of it. There is, for instance, the following question: why have American forces occupied Taiwan and the neighbouring islands which are part of the lawful territory of

the People's Republic of China? Why are they preventing the Chinese people from completing the integration of their territories?

However, none of the bourgeois newspapermen dares to raise his voice against such actions. Neither does the British press raise any serious protest against the outrages of the Portuguese colonialists who are unlawfully in possession of Goa, which is an integral part of India.

It is evident that the colonialists have not given up their plans and actions although the era of their domination is over. We speak of this openly and frankly.

Or take another fact: it is more than six years since the establishment of the great and thriving People's Republic of China. Yet, contrary to common sense, certain countries still oppose the restoration to China of her lawful rights in the United Nations. In this organization the Chinese people are "represented" by a Chiang Kai-shek agent. That's a crying injustice. Yet the British press does not protest against this outrage; all it does is publish innocuous comments.

I am not trying to lecture anyone. I am simply citing facts. And facts are stubborn things!

I should like to dwell once again on the Second World War. It is well known that after Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union and we became an ally of France, Britain and the United States, our country honestly and conscientiously abided by its allied obligations.

The Soviet people shed much more blood in this war than all our allies put together, but we honour and respect the British, French, American and other troops which fought against Hitlerite Germany and her satellites. The struggle was hard, but our combined armies, fighting against bloody Hitlerism for the bright future of mankind, for its freedom and independence, scored an unprecedented victory.

This experience of joint struggle for a mutual cause was very important. The Second World War showed that the British, French, American and Soviet people can be the best of friends not only in good times, but also in the most trying times. We were allies during the war. Then what is there to prevent us from being as good friends in working to maintain and consolidate peace?

We have repeated time and again that the Soviet people stand for durable peace, for friendship among all nations. And we not only speak of it but do everything to promote such friendship.

This is what I wanted to say in reply to comments in the British press on the speeches Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and I have made.

In conclusion, allow me to express on my own behalf, and on behalf of my friend Comrade Bulganin and all the friends who have accompanied us on our tour of Burma, our deep gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for the hearty reception they gave us. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are especially grateful to Comrade Nu for his sincere attitude towards us and our country. (*Stormy applause.*) Correctly understanding and assessing the friendly feelings entertained by the peoples of our country for the peoples of Burma, he boldly embarked upon the path to Burmese-Soviet rapprochement and promotion of friendship between our two countries. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*) Doing this in the interest of his country, he has shown himself a far-sighted man. (*Applause.*)

Addressing Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and myself, the Burmese Prime Minister called us comrades. Yes, we are comrades in our joint struggle for peace and friendship. (*Applause.*) Our comradeship will grow stronger on a basis of sincere cordiality. It will develop both between our

statesmen and our countries for the good of our peoples.
(*Applause.*)

Allow me once again to wish you, dear President, Dr. Ba U, you, Comrade Nu, all of you, friends, present at this meeting, and the entire Burmese people all success in the consolidation of your country's independence! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Long live and prosper the friendship of the peoples of Burma and the Soviet Union! (*All rise. Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

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SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT RANGOON UNIVERSITY

December 6

Our young friends, students of Burma; instructors and professors,

Allow me to greet you and to convey best wishes on my own behalf, on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, and on behalf of the entire Soviet people.

We are very glad to meet you. After seeing your university we said to ourselves that here was one striking result of the independence won by the Burmese people for their country. Schools and colleges are now open to all, and the youth of Asia have entered them to acquire the knowledge they need for successful building of a new life. (*Applause.*)

For many long decades the colonialists indoctrinated the peoples they held in slavery with the idea that they must be thankful to the colonialists for having established themselves in Asia. The colonialists asserted that they were bringing their culture to the countries enslaved by them and teaching the peoples how to live. But the days of the colonialists are over, although the colonialists have not yet disappeared everywhere. The peoples of Asia are setting firmly out to build their life as they see fit.

Now that you have won political independence you must do your best to further consolidate your achievements. To

gain real, genuine freedom, a liberated country must create an economy of its own that does not depend on foreign states.

The imperialist states are most ingenious in adapting themselves to circumstances when compelled to make concessions to peoples that have risen against them. They withdraw their troops but try to tighten their grip on the countries from which they withdraw their armed forces, to make the economy of those countries even more dependent on the whims of the monopolists. He who wants his country to be independent cannot tolerate that. (*Stormy applause.*)

This we have said more than once at our meetings with the people of India and Burma. But there are Europeans who do not like these words of ours. (*Animation, applause.*) Not all Europeans, however, are in favour of colonial rule. Our country is both a European and an Asian state, for one part of the Soviet territory lies in Europe and the other in Asia. The Soviet Union does not support the colonialists' policy and resolutely opposes it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Certain European circles, who are used to living on the juices they draw from the enslaved peoples of Asian and African countries, are now trembling because they feel the strength and might of the Asian and African peoples who have risen to fight for their independence. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*) We Soviet men are glad to see peoples overthrowing colonial regimes and taking the road of independent development. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I often have to talk with foreigners. Not so long ago I had a talk with a bourgeois leader who offered me "good" advice.

He said:

"The Soviet Union is helping China a great deal. Is it right for you to do that? After all, you have a population of 200 million, whereas China has 600 million. Isn't that dangerous to your state? When China has set up an industry of

her own and consolidated her independent state she will threaten the Soviet Union. You had better consider," said that "well-wisher," "whether it is worth doing that. A strong China will threaten both the Soviet Union and other European countries—she will bring pressure to bear on them.

We Soviet people know what lies behind this sort of advice. It is not prompted by good intentions. This kind of advice is suggested by bourgeois ideas which give precedence to the principle: "All men are enemies." Under the law prevailing in the capitalist world, unless you oppress someone you will be oppressed yourself. If a country is weak it is bound to be reduced to a dependent status. We are firmly opposed to such a state of affairs. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We follow a different doctrine. We say that all men are brothers and friends. We say that man is a gifted being. We say that there must be no oppression of man by man, no enslavement of one state by another. If man is freed from economic slavery and if he acquires knowledge he will bring the forces of nature under his control, and they will serve mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We say that if there is an equitable distribution of the wealth created by man and if there is no exploitation of man by man, the material values created by human labour will be sufficient for all men on earth. (*Stormy applause.*) Then a harmonious society will be established on the globe. All men will be brothers regardless of the colour of their skin. (*Applause.*) Enmity among people will disappear, wars will cease. (*Prolonged applause.*) All economic resources will be turned to the welfare and prosperity of the nations. (*Applause.*)

You can well imagine, dear friends, the progress science will then achieve!

We have acquainted ourselves with your university. We see you and your university as the first shoots sprouting in

a land liberated from colonial dependence. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We understand that there are 9,000 students in Rangoon. That is both a large and a small figure. It is large because formerly the number of secondary schools in your country was insufficient. You still lack buildings and laboratories for a greater number of students, and you lack an adequate number of professors and teachers. Taking all that into account, you have many students.

However, if the country's requirements and the people's thirst for knowledge are borne in mind, you still have few students.

But all that is good begins in a small way, and then it grows and develops.

When the peoples of our country won their independence and began to build a new life, we, too, had very few students. Soviet rule put higher education within the reach of young workers and peasants. Our Government had to set up workers' schools to enable the workers to receive a secondary education and later a higher education as well, and to ensure the rapid growth of our people's intelligentsia.

I should like to say a few words about myself.

When the war was over and we had expelled all our enemies from our land I, a former miner, entered a workers' school. At the time I was not so young as you who are now sitting in front of me. I was already 27. We studied diligently doing our best to acquire sound knowledge. That was what the great Lenin called on us to do. The Government, for its part, did everything necessary to enable us to study well. Our studies were free. In fact, we were paid an allowance, as students are paid in our country today.

That was how our people's intelligentsia came into being and grew, an intelligentsia that had sprung from the people and that is now honestly and devotedly serving its people.

And now public education in our country is so widespread that there are literally tens of millions of people studying. The establishments of higher education—to mention only these—have an enrolment of well over one million.

All opportunities are provided in our country for the youth in town and country to receive a secondary education and for as many young people as possible to acquire a higher education.

In the course of a mere 38 years of Soviet rule, our country—the one-time backward Russia—has become a country where there is no illiteracy. Every year the Soviet Union's higher educational institutions train many more engineers, agronomists, and other specialists than does the United States of America. (*Applause.*)

This is what workers' and peasants' government means. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Soviet system has no other concern but the well-being and prosperity of the peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

Let there be no mistake. What I am saying is not meant as propaganda—I am simply citing facts.

After taking power into their own hands, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, led by the great Lenin and the Communist Party he founded, established a socialist state whose existence is a challenge to the whole capitalist world. (*Stormy applause.*) They demonstrated that our Soviet system is the most progressive system. Socialism, which has been built in the Soviet Union, is the best society, it is a great achievement of mankind. (*Stormy applause.*)

I am sometimes told that I insist that socialism will win, that it will gain the upper hand over capitalism.

Yes, I am fully convinced of that. We Soviet people are all convinced that in the peaceful competition of the two systems socialism will win. And so long as our hearts beat we

shall not renounce our teaching, because it is a correct, progressive teaching.

Capitalism is on its last legs. (*Prolonged applause.*) Just as in a living body the cells are continuously renewed—old ones dying and new ones coming into being—in society the old forms die and new, more progressive and advanced ones come into being. (*Prolonged applause.*) Such a new form is the socialist system, communist society, towards which the peoples of our country are progressing. (*Applause.*) We are marching towards communism without war. We do not need war—it is harmful to our cause. (*Prolonged applause.*) The progress of ideas cannot be checked by force, just as ideas cannot be disseminated by force.

We hold that every nation is free to establish the system it pleases.

The Soviet people, who have built socialist society, are firmly convinced that the socialist system will prevail over the moribund system of capitalism. And we Soviet people are happily working for this, because this is a noble cause.

Our young friends, professors and instructors, we wish you success in mastering and developing science. Science benefits the people and the state only when it serves the people and the state. Hence there must be an inseparable link between the intellectuals and the people. Then the people will respect you more, and supported by the people your science will flourish.

Please excuse me if what I have said is perhaps not exactly what you would have liked to hear. But like my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, I have a most sincere wish: we wish you all the best. And this is not only our wish. The Soviet people are ready to share their experience and knowledge with you. (*Prolonged applause.*) The more extensive is exchange of scientific knowledge, the more extensive are

cultural relations, the more we share our experience in engineering, the better will the peoples of our two countries live and the friendlier will they be. We sincerely want to contribute to your economic development, to share with you the knowledge and experience we have accumulated.

It would be a good idea if your professors, engineers, and students came to the U.S.S.R. in greater numbers and more frequently. (*Prolonged applause.*) We shall welcome them as friends. We want you to see for yourselves what our people have achieved, how our intellectuals live and work, how our students live and acquire knowledge. For what people want is not only to hear but to see what they hear about. They want to feel with their hands what this or that is made of. (*Animation.*)

Come to our country, take a look at our people, feel with your hands what we have done. You may borrow whatever you like; and what you don't like we shall not try to force on you. This is what peaceful co-existence means. Everybody lives as he pleases, without forcing anything on anybody else.

We have been co-operating very successfully with your state, with your Government, in the fight for peace. Let us strengthen our bonds in this field, let us work with still greater vigour for world peace.

Long live the students of Burma! Long live Burma's young intellectuals who are acquiring knowledge and experience for the benefit of their country's development, for the benefit of their people! Long live the women students, who are still rather few among you, but whose numbers, we hope, will go on increasing! For women hold an important place in society. They are playing an active part in the life of society and have an appreciable share in bringing up the younger generation. (*Applause.*) If they get help today so as to be able to learn more, tomorrow their knowledge will

be spread to their children, to the rising generation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the professors and staff of Rangoon University, who are sparing no effort to import their knowledge to their people through you students! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Burma! (*Prolonged applause.*) Long live world peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause; all rise and enthusiastically cheer N. S. Khrushchov and N. A. Bulganin.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION IN RANGOON
December 6

Mr. President,
Mr. Prime Minister,
Esteemed guests,
Friends,

Our sojourn on the hospitable soil of Burma is, to our regret, coming to a close. The six days in the course of which we acquainted ourselves with your country is not a long time, but we shall always remember what we have seen during this period.

We visited a number of cities and historical places, met citizens of some districts of your country, and could see for ourselves the friendliness and sincerity of the brotherly feelings of the Burmese people for the peoples of the Soviet Union. At meetings in your celebrated capital, Rangoon, in the districts of Upper Burma which we visited, everywhere both representatives of the authorities and the people accorded us a warm, cordial welcome. For this hospitality, for the brotherly feelings, for your attention we heartily thank you on our own behalf and on behalf of the entire Soviet people whom we represent.

I should like to say that this warm and cordial welcome, the sincerity and force of the sentiment manifested towards



N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov inspect Bur-
mese troops at the parade arranged in their honour
in Maymyo



The signing of the Joint Declaration by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma

us are not accidental, just as the enthusiastic greetings and hospitality which our people accorded to our esteemed friend, Prime Minister U Nu, in the Soviet Union, were not accidental. Friendship is always reciprocal and we really felt that we were among brothers in your wonderful country.

Burma and the Soviet Union are different in many ways. They are different in nature and climate, in historical and every-day traditions. The art and culture of our peoples have many distinctive features. Also different are the economic forms and the social and political systems of our countries. However, as facts show, that does not prevent us from being good and faithful friends, or from developing co-operation and contacts of diverse kinds.

A Joint Declaration on our sojourn in Burma has been signed today. In the course of our talks we exchanged views on matters that are of mutual interest and benefit, and on a number of pressing problems of international significance.

We are deeply convinced that personal contacts and negotiations between the leaders of states are an effective means of promoting mutual understanding and confidence, and that such contacts will contribute to the development of friendly relations between nations.

Allow me to express the assurance that the bonds of friendship and co-operation that have been established between the peoples of the Union of Burma and the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen and to develop for the good of our peoples, for the cause of consolidating peace the world over.

I propose a toast to friendship and co-operation between Burma and the Soviet Union.

To the successes and prosperity of the peoples of the Union of Burma!

To the leaders of the Union of Burma!

To the President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Ba U!

To the Prime Minister of Burma, Comrade Nu!

VISIT TO
AFGHANISTAN

December 15-19, 1955

STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT KABUL AIRFIELD
December 15

Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and gentlemen,

In setting foot on the soil of friendly Afghanistan, my friend Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and I are happy to convey our greetings and very best wishes to the Afghan people, with whom the Soviet people are associated by long-standing good-neighbourly relations.

We accepted with satisfaction the kind invitation of the Royal Afghan Government to visit your country; this visit will enable us to learn more of Afghanistan and establish personal contact with her statesmen.

The friendly relations between our countries, the firm foundations of which were laid in the period of the formation of the Soviet state, have always developed in accordance with the principle of full equality and in the interest of the two countries.

The peoples of the Soviet Union entertain profound esteem and warm feelings for the courageous and industrious Afghan people, and highly appreciate Afghanistan's unswerving

effort for peace and the preservation of her national independence.

All the conditions exist for still closer friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan based on equality and respect for each other's interests.

May Soviet-Afghan friendship grow in strength and scope to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of international peace and co-operation.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

AT DINNER IN KABUL

December 16

Your Highness Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and gentlemen,

We wish to thank the Royal Government of Afghanistan for the invitation to visit this friendly country and for the cordial reception and hospitality accorded us.

Friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, which has stood the test of time, goes back many years, to the rise of the Soviet state and the proclamation of Afghan independence. It has constantly grown and developed in the interests of both countries. Today we can record, with a feeling of deep satisfaction, the existence of good-neighbourly and amicable relations between our two countries.

The Soviet-Afghan Treaty of February 28, 1921, and the Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression Treaty of June 24, 1931, have been of major importance in consolidating our friendship.

Our relations are based also on mutually advantageous economic co-operation. This has found expression in the development of commercial intercourse between the two countries, which has been facilitated by the Soviet-Afghan Trade and Payments Agreement concluded in 1950.

The Soviet-Afghan Transit Agreement concluded this year will do much to promote Afghanistan's foreign trade and

strengthen her economic independence. It offers Afghan merchants broad access to foreign markets.

In its relations with Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has invariably been guided—and will continue to be guided in future—by the principles of respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

We hope that the personal contact we have established with Afghan leaders will contribute to the further development and consolidation of Soviet-Afghan relations. Our exchange of opinions on questions of common interest revealed that both sides are prepared to promote wider contact in every sphere.

It is gratifying to point out that the peoples of Asia and Africa, having risen against colonialism, have in recent years made considerable progress in winning and consolidating their national independence. But the colonialists are doing all they can to impose their will on the liberated peoples in the new situation as well.

They are endeavouring to camouflage their colonial policy, to fetter certain Asian and African countries by treaties and pacts and involve them in aggressive military blocs directed against peace and security of nations.

The Soviet Union has always opposed colonialism in any shape or form. We sympathize with the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa for their national independence, and we have never concealed our sympathy.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates the independent and peaceable foreign policy pursued by Afghanistan, her negative attitude to the policy of forming blocs, her desire to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours and all other countries.

We sympathize with Afghanistan's policy on the Push-

tunistan issue. The Soviet Union stands for a just settlement of the Pushtunistan question, which can be properly solved only if the vital interests of the peoples inhabiting Pushtunistan are taken into account.

All the peoples want to preserve peace. And we believe that the policy of neutrality and non-participation in blocs is best calculated to safeguard the security of the nations, uphold their independence and consolidate peace.

We express the hope that the Afghan Government will continue its efforts to preserve and consolidate peace.

We wish good health to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan.

May friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan grow and develop!

Long live international peace and security!

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
IN KABUL MILITARY SCHOOL

December 17

Your Excellency, General,

Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and I, and also the other comrades now visiting this school, heartily thank you for your warm words of welcome.

The history of your school, on which you dwelt in your speech, speaks of the valour and perseverance of the Afghan people and the Afghan Army in their fight for national independence. Under the present conditions we understand your aspirations and the attention your Government is paying to military matters and the training of military personnel.

We are happy to greet you on our own behalf, on behalf of the Soviet people and on behalf of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

I wish you every success in your work.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY MAYOR OF KABUL
December 17

Your Highness Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellency Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen,

We wish to thank you for your kind and hospitable reception.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have long been associated by close friendship. The basis of this friendship was laid at a time when the Soviet state was engaged in a bitter struggle against internal and external enemies. Afghanistan had then won independence and sovereignty in courageous battle against the colonialists.

Since then our amity has invariably followed the principles enunciated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our great teacher and the good friend of the peoples of the East—mutual respect for territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. These lofty principles of co-existence of countries with differing political systems were and remain the foundation upon which Soviet-Afghan relations are built.

We believe that our visit will contribute to still closer friendship between our peoples and to broader contacts in the economic, cultural and other fields.

The Soviet people are fully aware that the colonialists

We wish to say quite frankly that we welcome the independent policy pursued by Afghanistan. (*Applause.*) The Afghan Government, concerned for the interests of the country, has taken a negative attitude to the formation of aggressive military blocs and is pursuing a policy of strict neutrality, a policy that helps to safeguard Afghan independence and security. (*Applause.*)

May friendship and business-like co-operation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan develop and strengthen! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live international peace and security! (*Stormy applause.*)



N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov at an audience with Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan



The signing of the Joint Declaration by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and Mohammed Daoud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN KABUL

December 18

Your Highness Mr. Prime Minister,
Your Highnesses,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Our stay in your hospitable capital is drawing to a close. During our few days in Kabul we were provided an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with certain aspects of its life, were received by His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah, and had conversations with the Prime Minister, His Highness Mohammed Daoud, and his colleagues.

Together we have done a big and useful job. In the course of our conversations, held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, we have discussed ways and means of further developing co-operation and contacts between our countries and exchanged opinions on cardinal international problems.

The results of that friendly exchange of opinion are set forth in the Joint Soviet-Afghan Declaration we signed today.

We can record with a feeling of satisfaction that the Royal Afghan Government and the Soviet Government share many views in common, both on the international situation generally, and on the settlement of outstanding international issues. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have proclaimed our adherence to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, which will constitute the indestruct-

ible foundation of our relations. More and more countries are coming to accept these Five Principles as a reliable groundwork for international peace and mutual understanding.

Prompted by the desire to promote peace and consolidate and develop good-neighbourly relations between our two countries, we today signed a Protocol prolonging the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression.

This momentous document has been the cornerstone of our good-neighbourly relations for the last 25 years.

The Soviet Union has always built economic relations with other countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, invariably proceeding from the belief that economic co-operation must not be motivated by selfish considerations, nor made conditional on acceptance of political obligations of any kind.

Viewed in that light, today's Joint Soviet-Afghan Communiqué on economic relations merits special attention. It will do much to foster reciprocal economic exchange. The Soviet Government will continue its efforts to develop such exchange to the maximum.

Such are the main results of our visit to Afghanistan. However, the most important result—and this has been brought out in our talks—is that we have come to know each other better, that there is complete understanding and unanimity of views, and a clear programme for co-operation on many questions. This provides a fresh stimulus to good-neighbourly relations and amity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

The successful development of Soviet-Afghan relations shows that the policy of opposing peaceful co-existence, friendship and co-operation among nations is untenable.

The documents signed in Kabul today are evidence that friendship and co-operation between countries with dif-

ferent political systems is not only possible, but necessary and can be successfully implemented. (*Applause.*)

Personal contact between statesmen can do much to promote friendly relations between countries. This applies in particular to relations between our two countries, and our visit represents a new and important step towards still closer amity and co-operation.

On behalf of the Soviet Government we have invited His Highness Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud to visit the Soviet Union at his convenience. The Prime Minister has accepted the invitation and will visit the Soviet Union in 1956.

This visit and our future contacts will thus serve to strengthen and develop friendship and co-operation between our countries. (*Stormy applause.*)

We shall be leaving your hospitable country tomorrow, but we shall carry away with us the deep conviction that the people and the Government of Afghanistan, like the peoples and Government of the Soviet Union, will work indefatigably to strengthen and extend our good-neighbourly relations, our friendship and co-operation. (*Applause.*)

To Soviet-Afghan friendship and co-operation! To peace and co-operation among nations! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT KABUL AIRFIELD ON LEAVING FOR HOME
December 19

Your Highness Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Leaving your friendly and hospitable country we wish to convey our sincere gratitude to the Royal Government of Afghanistan, to Your Highness and to the Afghan people for the warm and kind reception accorded us.

Personal contacts and our meetings with you, held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, have been productive of good results.

The important documents which we signed yesterday signify a new stage in the development of Soviet-Afghan relations. They are evidence of growing friendship and of a common desire to achieve still closer all-round co-operation for the welfare and prosperity of our two countries, for the welfare of our peoples.

We are deeply convinced that the personal contact established here will be fruitfully continued during the visit of Your Highness to Moscow.

We carry away with us the profound conviction that our friendship and co-operation will continue to grow and strengthen.

Long live friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan!

Good-bye!

STATEMENT BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
AT KABUL AIRFIELD ON LEAVING FOR HOME
December 19

Dear friends, our short but very fruitful stay in your country is ending. We leave Kabul, the capital of friendly Afghanistan, fully confident that friendship and businesslike co-operation between our countries have been further strengthened. This has found expression in the Joint Soviet-Afghan Declaration, the Protocol prolonging the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression, and the Joint Soviet-Afghan Communiqué on Economic Relations Between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan signed yesterday. It has found expression, also, in the friendly talks and meetings we had with the leaders and people of Afghanistan.

We leave your country firmly convinced that our friendship will continue to grow. This conviction is based on the fact that for over 36 years now our good-neighbourly relations have proved beneficial to the peoples of our two countries. Our friendship has been tested in the most complex international conditions, and never once has it wavered or been in doubt.

Allow me to thank you once more, Your Highness Mr. Prime Minister, and the leaders and people of your hospitable country for the warm and heartfelt reception, for good will towards us, our country and our people.

Good-bye, dear friends.

**SPEECHES
ON RETURN
TO MOSCOW**

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

AT RALLY OF PEOPLE OF MOSCOW

December 21

Comrades, dear friends,

Allow me first of all to express our heartfelt thanks for this exceptionally warm and stirring welcome.

We have returned home from our month's tour of three friendly countries, India, Burma and Afghanistan, full of memorable impressions. The biggest impression of all was made on us by the tremendous love and sincerest respect which the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan entertain for our country, for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We accepted the invitations of the respective Governments to visit India, Burma and Afghanistan because we had a clear and simple aim: to strengthen still further the friendship and co-operation that had been established between those countries and the Soviet Union.

We endeavoured to carry out this task with credit, firmly convinced that strong friendship between the peoples of our countries will benefit the nations and serve the cause of world peace. I think it was a useful trip which will bring positive results.

I lack words to express the heartiness, the enthusiasm, we felt on the part of the great people of India. This was a manifestation of the brotherly, exceptionally heartfelt love of the peoples of India for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We were very warmly received by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and his colleagues.

In the cities of India, hundreds of thousands of people, millions, in fact, came out to welcome us. And everywhere we went we heard and read these simple words, coming straight from the hearts of the Indian people:

“Friendship for ever!”

“Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!”

“Russians and Indians are brothers!”

That was the voice of the great people of India.

And we said to them: yes, we are brothers! Brothers not only in days of peace but in hard times as well. We are brothers in the struggle for a better future for mankind, in the struggle for peace throughout the world!

In Burma and Afghanistan both the people and their leaders met us with the same friendliness and hospitality. True, the meetings there were not so large as in India, but there was the same ardent love of the peoples for the Soviet Union, for our great Soviet people.

When we saw this brotherly love of the Asian peoples for our country, we thought of Moscow, and in our mind's eye there arose a picture of that great titan, the Soviet people, a people of heroes, a people of builders. It is to them, the Soviet people, that our country owes its greatness. It is they, the Soviet people, who, led by their Communist Party, have raised our country to such a height and transformed it from backward Russia into the most advanced and mighty power in the world. It is they, the Soviet people, who built socialism, thus embodying mankind's dream in the life and affairs of our Homeland.

Our hearts overflowed with pride that we were sons of the great Soviet people, its envoys and servants.

In our speeches in India, Burma and Afghanistan we ex-

posed the criminal policy of the colonialists, whose long years of rule in those countries caused the peoples tremendous damage and greatly hindered their economic development.

The peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan approved of what we said, for we spoke the truth.

But what furious hatred did our words draw from certain public figures in bourgeois countries, and particularly from reactionary newspapers and magazines!

This hatred is fully understandable. The colonial system is collapsing. It has already gone bankrupt in Asia. In many countries—the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, and others—the people have freed themselves from the colonial regime and are consolidating their national independence.

This is to say nothing of our great friend and brother, the Chinese people, who, under the leadership of their Communist Party, have expelled from their land for all time the colonialists who tormented them. The Chinese people have defeated their internal enemies, and firmly taken the path of building socialism.

That is a blow from which the world system of colonialism will never recover.

The colonial regimes are a disgrace to mankind today. We have said that and we shall never stop reiterating it as long as colonialists exist.

Comrades, dear friends, there are many things I should like to tell you about our big and very eventful tour.

But that cannot be done in a single speech—a speech, moreover, made when we have just arrived in Moscow.

We met all kinds of people, members of all classes.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals sincerely admire our country's achievements and heartily endorse them.

In noting our country's successes, everybody, without exception, expressed their admiration for the achievements of the Soviet Union. They spoke with approval of our country's foreign policy of peace and the Soviet Government's efforts to preserve and consolidate world peace.

In India's 370 millions, and also in the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan, we have allies in the struggle for world peace.

India is a big and good friend of our country. Like the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, India is a convinced champion of peace.

And India, China and the Soviet Union, as Lenin taught us, are an invincible force.

Comrades, our trip to India, Burma and Afghanistan took place at a time when the entire Soviet Land has been preparing to meet the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a worthy manner.

We approach the 20th Party Congress with big successes both in the further consolidation of the Soviet socialist state and in the strengthening of our country's international position. But that does not give us any right to rest content.

Our task is to develop our national economy, and particularly its foundation, heavy industry, to the utmost, to assure a continued advance in all branches of agriculture, to strengthen the friendship among the peoples of our country and the moral and political unity of all the members of our socialist society.

We are marching along the right road to our great goal: the building of communism in our country.

Long live our great Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live our Soviet Homeland, bulwark of the peace and security of nations! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RALLY OF PEOPLE OF MOSCOW
December 21

Dear comrades,

Words cannot describe how happy we are to see our beloved Moscow again and to meet you, dear friends!

I thank you deeply for this warm and heartfelt welcome.

Our tour, a splendid tour in all respects, lasted more than a month. Of course, one month is not enough to gain a good knowledge of India, Burma and Afghanistan, of all aspects of life in these countries, particularly in such a great country as India. For all that, we saw and learned much.

As you know, we visited the capitals of these countries, Delhi, Rangoon and Kabul, and also many of the biggest towns, industrial districts and construction projects, agricultural establishments, and educational, medical and research institutions. We met and talked with statesmen and with members of various sections and classes of society. We had meetings with the people, with millions of ordinary people, with intellectuals, with workers in factory and field. They all expressed their warmest and most sincere feelings towards us. They welcomed us as their dearest guests, as their best and closest friends, as brothers. A feeling of great pride in our country welled up in our hearts at the sight of the unforgettable enthusiasm with which we, representa-

tives of the Soviet people, were welcomed in the towns and villages.

Everywhere we went the people expressed their heartiest gratitude towards the Soviet Union for its foreign policy of peace, for its policy of friendship and co-operation among nations.

We saw that the enthusiasm and joy with which we were met everywhere by the people of India, Burma and Afghanistan were an expression of friendship and love for the Soviet Union, for the Soviet people who, under the leadership of their Communist Party, have so glorified their country.

We saw that the countries we visited are peace-loving countries, that their people and governments desire peaceful co-operation with all states. That is the main thing that draws us together, that creates the necessary conditions for friendship and co-operation.

Peace is the greatest blessing the nations can have. And friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan are a great factor for international peace.

Friendship and co-operation among the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan are a factor for peace which the opponents of peace and co-operation among the nations cannot help taking into account.

The five great principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation—that is the basis on which we build our relations with countries having different social and political systems. More and more states, as we see, are subscribing to these principles.

Our friendship with great India, with Burma and with Afghanistan is a splendid example of the triumph of the Leninist foreign policy principles of the Soviet state. It is a great and historic gain.

Our trip showed us how very important personal contacts among statesmen are for establishing mutual understanding and friendly relations, for all-round co-operation and ties between countries. Our contacts with the leaders of India, Burma and Afghanistan helped us to come to know one another better, to bring out common viewpoints on major international problems, and to find the right path to the solution of questions pertaining to co-operation and relations.

You know from the press that a result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan was the publication of joint declarations. These historic documents mark a new stage in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and each of those three countries. Our common striving for friendship and co-operation also led to good results in the talks on extending commercial, economic, cultural and other relations. These relations are based on our unvarying principle of equality and mutual benefit. We stand for such economic co-operation and relations as do not involve any political conditions or obligations.

Our tour had such rich and beneficial results thanks to the exceptional courtesy and hospitality shown us by the esteemed Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the esteemed Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, and the esteemed Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Mohammed Daoud. I take advantage of this occasion to convey to them, again and again, our heartfelt thanks.

And so, the most important result of our trip to great India, to Burma and to Afghanistan was a further rapprochement between the Soviet Union and these countries, a further development of friendship and co-operation among our peoples.

Not everybody, however, likes that. Our tour and our speeches, particularly the speeches by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, aroused not only stormy approval from friends

but also stormy indignation from the reactionary press and certain prominent public figures and statesmen in Western countries, especially in Britain. Our only comment is: they do not like our frank statements about their colonial policy, they do not like our friendship with India, Burma and Afghanistan, but we like this friendship very much and it suits us very much. This friendship among nations has strengthened the front of the peace-loving countries, has given it still greater unity. The front of the peace-loving countries has become stronger than ever. It will grow still stronger, and we are confident that it will triumph! (*Applause.*)

Long live friendship and co-operation among the nations—the greatest factor for world peace! (*Applause and cheers.*)

REPORT
BY N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE
U.S.S.R.
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
ON THE VISIT TO INDIA, BURMA AND
AFGHANISTAN

DELIVERED AT FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U.S.S.R.

December 29, 1955

Comrade Deputies, this session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is meeting in the closing days of 1955, a year of important international developments that led to major changes in the relations between states.

The outgoing year will go down in history as a year of a definite change in the tension which has characterized the international situation in recent times. No little credit for this must be put down to the efforts of the Soviet Union to guarantee peace and security of nations, to strengthen confidence among nations, and to promote broad political, economic and cultural intercourse between countries, regardless of their social and political systems.

For Soviet foreign policy, 1955 was a year of exceptionally active and persistent efforts to consolidate peace, lessen international tension, and extend co-operation between nations and states. Nobody can now deny that the efforts made by the Soviet Union in this direction have been crowned by notable achievement.

A big contribution to the promotion of peace was, undoubtedly, the development of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, Burma and Afghanistan, countries which Comrade Khrushchov and I recently visited. This visit was a graphic manifestation of

the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state, and a fitting conclusion of 1955, a year rich in important international events. (*Applause.*)

The immediate result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan was to strengthen and broaden the relations of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and these countries, and to bring the Soviet people into closer contact with the great people of India and the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan. But its importance is not confined to this.

The visit acquired tremendous international significance primarily because it reaffirmed the correctness of the basic Leninist principle of Soviet foreign policy, the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social and political systems. It demonstrated clearly and convincingly that this principle is a reliable basis for strengthening world peace and security and for promoting confidence among states.

We know that the Asian countries, whose inhabitants constitute more than half the population of the globe, are becoming an increasingly important factor in the international affairs of our time. For centuries the peoples of many Asian countries had been, and some of them still are, victims of harsh colonial oppression. Seeking to justify their policy and their domination over the Asian peoples, the colonialists sought, and still seek, to portray them as backward peoples, culturally and socially. But it should not be forgotten that historically the development of the Asian peoples began long before the peoples of Europe entered the arena of history. And if in recent centuries social and political development in Asia was retarded and lagged behind, this was the fault not of the Asian peoples, but of the colonialists who established in the countries of Asia—and not only of Asia, but of Africa as well—a system of administration based on

violence, robbery and inhuman exploitation of the people. This system is a source of fabulous wealth for the colonialists, but for the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa it spells poverty and dire suffering.

This situation prevailed for a long time, but it could not last for ever. To all who had the slightest acquaintance with the laws of social development, it was clear that a national-liberation movement was bound to develop in the Asian countries and would acquire ever greater dimensions. And it did. The Asian peoples began to awaken and straighten their backs. This great awakening was stimulated by the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country, and by the weakening of the colonial powers as a result of the two world wars, especially the second.

Speaking of the countries of the East, our great teacher Lenin said on more than one occasion that the masses of these countries would inevitably rise to put an end to their unequal position and become independent builders of a new life. The time would come, Lenin said, when Asia's millions would become an active factor in world history and take part in shaping the destiny of mankind. That time has come. Today we see that the colonial system is crumbling in Asia and throughout the East.

The great Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, are stepping out along the broad highway of national regeneration and independence, building a socialist society in their country. The historic victory of the Chinese people has tremendously influenced the whole situation in Asia and the East generally. It has given a new impetus to the national-liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples.

The colonial yoke has been thrown off by the people of the great land of India and the people of Burma. Inspired by the urge to revive and regenerate their countries, these peo-

ples have now entered a period of independent economic and political development.

The path of freedom and independence has been taken by Indonesia and other Eastern countries.

A movement for the consolidation of national independence is acquiring ever broader scope in the Arab countries. Active struggle for emancipation is being waged by the peoples of Africa.

Comrade Deputies, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and I spent three weeks in India. And from the moment we set foot on Indian soil to the moment of our departure from that hospitable country, we were surrounded by friendship and regard of the Indian people. They displayed the warmest friendship for us, and welcomed us with enthusiasm as the representatives of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) For that reason, our visit to India may be called a meeting with the great Indian people. (*Applause.*)

When we left for India, we knew that this was a friendly country and that a warm welcome awaited us. But what we saw and heard surpassed all expectations. Descending from the plane on our arrival in Delhi, we saw people who had come to meet us, headed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and an immense crowd, and heard the continuous roar of many thousands of voices. The people cried to us in words we could not understand, in words of their own language. But we knew that those were words of friendship and joy, for they rang so heartily and sincerely. Here, we felt, were true friends of the Soviet people, here were our brothers. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

In Delhi, nearly a million people came to meet us on the Ramlila Square. It was an unforgettable sight. The great square surged with excitement, cries of greeting came from all sides, we saw streamers with the words in Russian: "Indians and Russians are brothers!" (*applause*); "Long live

Indian-Soviet friendship!" (*applause*): "Long live world peace!" (*applause*); "Welcome to us, our dear guests from the Soviet Union!" (*Applause.*) These greetings came straight from the hearts of the Indian people. (*Applause.*)

We realized with pride that the enthusiasm with which the Indian people welcomed us was meant for our glorious country, for the great Soviet people who, led by the Communist Party, carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, routed numberless external and internal enemies and, unswervingly adhering to the general line of our Party, established the first socialist state in the world. (*Applause.*)

The Indian people welcomed us so heartily because we represented the peoples of the Soviet Union who upheld their achievements in a grim struggle against the fascist hordes in the Great Patriotic War, and are now working with unflagging constructive energy to build a new, communist society. (*Applause.*)

We realized that the achievements, the successes and victories of our country are appreciated and prized by the Indian people, are hailed by them sincerely and wholeheartedly.

It is with deep emotion also that we recall the meetings with the Indian people in Bombay, Poona, Coimbatore, Bangalore, Madras, Jaipur, Srinagar and other cities. But the most vivid, the most unforgettable impression was made on us by our meeting with the population of Calcutta. For days before our arrival, people had been flowing in from the surrounding towns and villages. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, came to Calcutta. The newspapers reported afterwards that we had been welcomed in the streets of the city by more than three million people. It was a surging and tumultuous sea of human beings. Here, too, we heard warm words of greeting, words of friendship and affection for the Soviet Union.

We were told that many who attended that meeting in Calcutta had come to the square the day before in order to be sure of a place near to the platform.

We witnessed manifestations of friendship for us, as the representatives of the Soviet people, not only in the cities but in the small villages, where men and women, old and young, lined the roads to meet and welcome us. Here, too, we heard joyous cries in honour of our country.

We were deeply impressed by our meeting with the members of the Indian Parliament, who received us most cordially and listened with deep attention to and warmly applauded our speeches. We were warmly and hospitably received by the statesmen of India and the governments of the states we visited. They did much to make our stay in India pleasant and useful.

In Delhi, we were the guests of the President of India, Mr. Prasad. We stayed at his residence. Mr. Prasad did everything to make Comrade Khrushchov, myself, and our companions feel comfortable and at home in his residence. We had several talks with him. We transmitted to him a message from Comrade Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. Mr. Prasad expressed deep gratitude for the message and tendered us a reply for transmission to Comrade Voroshilov.

We had meetings with the Vice-President of India, Mr. Radhakrishnan, an outstanding statesman who, as the Speaker of Parliament, received us cordially and said many kind things about the Soviet Union in his speech.

Special mention should be made of our meetings with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, one of the most distinguished statesmen of our time. (*Prolonged applause.*) All our meetings with Mr. Nehru were marked by sincere friendship. Wherever we went, we were conscious of his kindness and solicitude.

Warm and sincere esteem and friendship for the Soviet people were also expressed by the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan, whom we met later. In the towns and villages of Burma and in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, the people welcomed us with joy and sympathy as the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

In Delhi and other Indian cities, and in Rangoon and Kabul, it was said that never before had these cities witnessed such a friendly and impressive welcome as was accorded to us, the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

During our stay in India we were able to acquaint ourselves with many aspects of the life of the people. The Indian Government made it possible for us to tour the western, eastern, southern and northern parts of the country. Using our Soviet ИЛ-14П plane, designed by Sergei Vladimirovich Ilyushin, we flew 22,500 kilometres, including some 10,000 kilometres in India alone. We visited various parts of India, many cities and villages, building sites and industrial enterprises, government farms and many cultural establishments, and saw remarkable memorials of India's rich and ancient culture.

For nearly two centuries India had been ruled by British colonialists for whom this rich land was an agrarian, raw-material adjunct of the metropolitan country, a market for its manufactures. Naturally, the British had no desire to develop industry in India. That is the way of all colonialists, whose aim is to squeeze the greatest possible profit out of the colonies and to give them nothing, or practically nothing, in return.

Having thrown off the colonial yoke and regained their independence, the Indian people, guided by their Government, proceeded to the economic development of their country. The first achievements have been registered in this direc-

tion. We visited India's principal industrial area, which has been developed in the past few years. It lies at the junction of the States of Bihar and West Bengal, in the valley of the River Damodar. Metallurgical, engineering and chemical works are located here; there are coal and ore mines in the area.

In Chittaranjan we saw the new locomotive works. This is a government enterprise which began making locomotives in 1950. While we were there it turned out its 300th locomotive. The Indians are proud of this work—the first-born of their engineering industry. The engineers who showed us round stressed that more than 80 per cent of the locomotive parts were made in the works itself.

We also visited an artificial fertilizer factory in Sindri. This is another new government enterprise and it plays an important part in the economy of India whose agriculture is in great need of mineral fertilizers. The town of Sindri, which has grown up around the factory, is only four or five years old.

India is an agricultural country; more than three-quarters of her population are tillers. One of the most important problems connected with increasing India's agricultural output is artificial irrigation. Unirrigated fields yield poor crops, and the Indian Government is making a great effort to develop a powerful irrigation system.

We made a detailed inspection of one of India's biggest construction projects, the Bhakra-Nangal development, where a big dam is being built, to be followed by a power station. This big development has been conceived on broad and bold lines, and interesting solutions have been found for a number of technical problems. But the most interesting thing we saw was the remarkable labour enthusiasm of the people—the workers and engineers—who are building the project. The Bhakra-Nangal scheme reminded us of the atmosphere of our first five-year plan, when we were building our first big enterprises.

The Indian Government is seeking for ways and means of developing agriculture within the framework of private landownership. For this purpose, it is carrying out in the rural areas measures known as the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Development Programme. We were told that these programmes now embrace about 20 per cent of the villages of India, and that it is intended in the period of the second five-year plan to extend this system of agrarian development to the whole country.

We visited a number of government farms. These are small but well-organized undertakings which, in our opinion, are undoubtedly doing valuable work as experimental farms.

While in India, we saw for ourselves that, now that they have thrown off the colonial yoke, the Indian people are capable of advancing boldly along the road of industrial progress and building an economically independent state. We also had ample evidence of how deeply the Indian people desire peace and co-operation with other countries.

The visit of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to the Soviet Union this summer already revealed the identity of interests of the Soviet Union and India in working for peace and international security, and this found reflection in the first Joint Soviet-Indian Statement signed in Moscow on June 22, 1955.

In our conversations with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian statesmen during our stay in Delhi, we again exchanged views both on questions relating to the further extension of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and India and on major international problems. These talks resulted in the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration of December 13.

In this historic document, which is of great international importance, the two Governments reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of respect for each other's territorial integ-

rity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any motives of an economic, political or ideological nature, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. These principles are a reliable basis for the peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems. The Soviet Government considers that the adoption of these principles by other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would contribute to further relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence among the nations.

In the Delhi declaration, the Soviet and Indian Governments condemned the present arms drive, which is assuming increasingly dangerous dimensions, and unanimously called for its termination and for relieving the nations of the heavy burden of military expenditure. Fully cognizant of the danger of a situation in which atomic and hydrogen weapons are being systematically and continuously accumulated, the two Governments pronounced in favour of unconditional prohibition of these weapons, of freeing mankind from the fear of atomic war and the incalculable destruction of property and life it would involve.

The Soviet Union has always advocated the termination of the arms drive and the conclusion of an international agreement prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction, including guided missiles, which have been greatly developed in recent years and, one might say, have become inter-continental weapons. In May 1955, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal on reduction of conventional armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons. Implementation of this proposal would be a substantial contribution to the cause of peace. We are glad that in this noble cause the Indian Government takes a stand which is similar to ours.

Our talks in India resulted in full agreement to the effect that the policy pursued by certain countries of forming military blocs directed against other countries heightens international tension and increases the danger of a new war, and that this policy is incompatible with the promotion of co-operation among all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems.

The peoples of Asia and Africa cannot but be alarmed by the creation of such aggressive military alliances as SEATO and the recently formed Baghdad bloc.

The United States, Britain and France sponsored SEATO. As to the Baghdad military alliance, we know that Britain had the chief hand in its formation. The Baghdad pact is a manifestation of colonialism in a new form. It is essentially an aggressive pact, as can be seen from the character of the obligations assumed by the participants in this military alliance. This became particularly obvious when Iran was drawn into this alliance.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly called the attention of the Iranian Government to the fact that the participation of Iran in military alliances, into which the Western Powers have long been trying to draw her, is incompatible with the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union. We pointed out at the same time that we want to have good relations with Iran, as with other neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, those who are responsible for Iran's policy have taken a different course; they have joined the Baghdad pact, thereby assuming grave responsibility for the resultant situation.

We reject, as untenable, the assertion of the Iranian Government that Iran's adhesion to this pact strengthens peace in the Middle East. There is as little truth in this assertion as there is in the assertion that the Atlantic bloc strengthens peace in Europe.

We heard with satisfaction the statement made from this rostrum by the head of the Iranian parliamentary delegation, Mr. Sayed, to the effect that the Government and the people of Iran sincerely desire to further friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. But we are forced to reckon with the fact that the formation of the Baghdad bloc, and the integration into it of neighbours of the Soviet Union, cannot but affect the security of our country. The Soviet Union is, accordingly, obliged to draw the necessary conclusions.

The Joint Declaration signed during our stay in India condemns the policy of forming military alliances and regional military blocs, and stresses that peace and genuine security for the peoples can be assured only by the collective efforts of the states.

The Soviet Government and the Government of India expressed the conviction that permanent peace in Asia is impossible without granting the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations. The two Governments emphasized the necessity for a speedy settlement of other Far Eastern problems, including the problem of Taiwan and the Chinese coastal islands, which must be settled on the basis of satisfying the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Our Joint Declaration expresses the hope that these problems will be settled without delay through agreement.

The Governments of the two countries emphasized the necessity of settling the Korean question on the basis of recognizing the national rights of the Korean people and in accordance with the interests of peace in the Far East, and also the necessity of implementing the Geneva agreements on Indo-China. We know that attempts are now being made to obstruct implementation of these agreements, although their violation, as the Soviet-Indian Declaration of Decem-

ber 13 rightly points out, would have "exceedingly grave consequences for both Indo-China and the whole world."

The similarity of the views of the Soviet Union and India on the outstanding problems of Asia and the Far East is undoubtedly an important factor, capable of contributing to the settlement of these problems on the basis of recognizing the lawful rights of the peoples and in accordance with the interests of peace.

Pursuing a policy of peace, the Soviet Union and India are successfully co-operating on a number of important problems which the United Nations is now working to solve. This is reflected not only in the identity of the views of the two countries on such problems as disarmament, but also on the question of U.N. membership. We note with satisfaction that the Indian Government supported the Soviet proposal for the admission to the United Nations of sixteen countries: Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain. We share the hope expressed by Mr. Nehru that those countries still outside the United Nations will soon be admitted to membership.

The Soviet-Indian Declaration records that the Soviet Union and India concur in their evaluation of the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, and of the recent Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers. There was full understanding between Mr. Nehru and ourselves that the effort to lessen international tension must be continued, and that the best method of settling controversial issues is by negotiation.

Comrade Deputies, the identity of the views of the Soviet Union and India on vital international problems is not due to transitory causes or considerations of the moment. It springs from the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, who want peace and security.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are engaged in the peaceful constructive work of building a communist society, implementing the great plans of economic and cultural development and raising the well-being of the Soviet people. We have never threatened anyone, nor do we threaten anyone now, and the peace-loving nations will always find in the Soviet Union a staunch champion of peace and international co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

India's policy of peace likewise rests on profound foundations deriving from the nature of the development of the Indian state. We have seen the great effort the Indian people are making to develop their economy. Our talks with Mr. Nehru and other Indian statesmen brought home to us the immensity of the tasks confronting India in raising the standard of living of her people. The Indians are vitally interested in peace, in being able to work in peace and create material values for the good of their country.

Identity of the interests of the Soviet Union and India in working for peace is a firm foundation for maintaining and further developing the friendly relations between the two countries.

A factor of great significance for the further strengthening of our relations with India is economic intercourse between the two countries and the potentialities which exist in this sphere. We therefore exchanged views with the Indian Government concerning ways and means of broadening economic intercourse, of enlarging the volume of trade between India and the Soviet Union.

It was agreed that in the three years beginning with 1956 the Soviet Union will supply to India one million tons of rolled ferrous metals—300,000 tons in the first year and 350,000 tons in each of the two following years. We shall also supply to India various kinds of industrial

equipment and other goods. It has been agreed that the Soviet Union will increase its purchases of Indian goods. The two parties considered it essential to arrange regular shipping services between Soviet and Indian ports and to establish air communication between the two countries.

The Soviet Government considers that international co-operation implies, among other things, pooling of experience between countries, including countries with different social systems. In the course of our meetings in India, we stated that the Soviet Union was prepared to share its experience with India and, in the first place, experience in economic development. We observed, at the same time, that we did not want to force our experience on anybody, but that if our friends, the Indian people, desired to avail themselves of our experience in any degree, we were prepared to share it with them. We should also like to avail ourselves, and should avail ourselves, of the experience of India, which has a centuries-old culture.

The strengthening of political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and India can, and should, be supplemented by the development of cultural intercourse between the two countries, for which there is a mutual desire. We had the opportunity while in India to convince ourselves of the tremendous creative ability of the Indian people, who have produced world-famed memorials of material and spiritual culture, inimitable specimens of national architecture, and a distinctive and remarkable school of scenic art, dancing and music, which preserves and carries forward the traditions of folk art.

On the other hand, a strong desire for close cultural contact with the Soviet Union is to be observed in India. We welcome this desire, being convinced that such contact will be useful to both peoples.

We had many meetings and conversations in India with statesmen and public figures, with managers of industrial enterprises and farms, with workers in science, culture and art, and with members of the most diverse professions. They all displayed keen interest in the Soviet Union, in the life and work of the Soviet people. We invited many of them to visit our country to get to know the Soviet people more closely, to see with their own eyes how they live and work. This will undoubtedly help to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and promote closer contact between our peoples.

The reactionary press and some government leaders abroad were greatly annoyed by our frank statements on the Goa and Kashmir questions.

As you know, there is still a small Portuguese colony on an integral part of Indian territory—Goa. The Indians are rightly demanding that this intolerable state of affairs should be ended and Goa liberated. We have only to glance at the map of India and at these “possessions” of the Portuguese intruders to see how justified and lawful is the claim of the Indian Government that this Indian territory should be reunited with the motherland. The Soviet Government supports this just demand and considers that maintaining a Portuguese colony on Indian territory—as maintaining the colonial system in our day generally—is a disgrace to civilized nations. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

As regards the Kashmir problem, it has been generated by countries pursuing definite military and political aims in this area. On the pretext of supporting Pakistan on the Kashmir question certain countries are trying to entrench themselves in this part of India in order to threaten and exert pressure on areas in the vicinity of Kashmir. The attempt was made to sever Kashmir from India artificially and convert it into a foreign military base.

The people of Kashmir are emphatically opposed to this imperialist policy. The issue has been settled by the Kashmiris themselves: they regard themselves as an integral part of the Republic of India and want to live in the fraternal family of Indian peoples, to take part in building the new and independent India, and work for international peace and security. (*Prolonged applause.*) We became profoundly convinced of this during our meetings with the people in Srinagar, and in our conversations with the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. G. M. Bakshi, and his colleagues.

The Soviet Government supports India's policy in relation to the Kashmir issue (*applause*), because it fully accords with the interests of peace in this part of Asia. We declared this when we were in Kashmir, we reaffirmed our declaration at a press conference in Delhi on December 14, and we declare it today. (*Applause.*)

Our visit to India has brought our two countries still closer. The bonds of friendship between the Soviet Union and India have been greatly strengthened. We knew before, and during our stay in India our conviction was confirmed, that the Indian people entertain sincere brotherly feelings for the peoples of the Soviet Union. A new and powerful stimulus has been given to the all-round development of political and economic co-operation between the two countries. Better opportunities for cultural and scientific intercourse have been created.

We, Soviet people, wish our great friend, the people of India, every success in furthering the economic progress of their country, in developing industry and agriculture, in raising their standard of living and cultural level, in consolidating the Republic of India as an independent and sovereign state. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India constitute a most important factor in safeguard-

ing international peace and security. This great friendship we shall continue to develop and strengthen. (*Applause.*)

I shall now speak about our visit to Burma.

Burma embarked on the path of independent national development as the result of the devoted struggle waged by all her people against the long years of British colonial rule, and then, in the Second World War, against the invasion of the Japanese militarists, who ruthlessly plundered the Burmese and their national wealth.

In their struggle for independence the Burmese displayed determination and heroism. The leader of their struggle, the popular hero, Aung San, and many of his comrades met their death at the hands of the enemies of national liberation. But the people attained their aim: the chains of colonial slavery were broken, and an independent state—the Union of Burma—established. In the face of enormous difficulties, arising from the aftermath of colonial oppression and the devastation of war, the Burmese set about rehabilitating and upbuilding their economy.

The visit of the Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu, to the Soviet Union in October and November 1955 laid the foundation for close and friendly contact between the Union of Burma and the Soviet Union.

A Joint Soviet-Burmese Declaration was signed in Moscow on November 3, its keynote being the desire to promote international confidence and co-operation. The declaration emphasized that the sincere and friendly relations between the two countries were based on the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence already recognized by many states and nations, and which are aimed at strengthening peace among the nations.

Our stay in Burma from December 1 to 7, our meetings with the people of this hospitable country, and our person-

al contacts with her leaders once more confirmed that Burma is an active champion of friendly relations between states, condemns the formation of military blocs, and advocates collective effort by the states for the consolidation of peace.

We arrived in Rangoon, capital of Burma, on December 1. There we were given a friendly and very cordial reception by the population and by Burmese government leaders, headed by Prime Minister U Nu. Our meetings with the people were equally cordial and hearty in all the other cities we visited during our six-day stay in Burma. Besides Rangoon, we visited the Shan State, part of the Union of Burma, and its capital, Taunggyi, and also the second largest Burmese city, Mandalay. Everywhere the Soviet people, the Soviet Union, and Burmese-Soviet friendship were warmly and sincerely hailed by the people of Burma. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We were happily impressed, in particular, by our meeting with the students and teaching staff of the University of Rangoon, where several thousand young men and women are studying. The younger generation of this nation, now that it has thrown off the yoke of colonial servitude, is making the first steps in the acquisition of the scientific knowledge required for independent advancement along the road chosen by the people, for the development of the national economy and culture.

The students listened with rapt attention to the speech of Comrade Khrushchov, who gave a detailed account of the Soviet Union, of our way of life, and of our educational system. Great interest was evoked by the passages in the speech denouncing the colonialist policy of the imperialist states, and declaring that the Soviet Union did not support, indeed emphatically opposed, this policy. This statement, like many other passages, was greeted by the students and professors with stormy applause.

During our stay in Burma we had useful meetings and talks with the President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Ba U, to whom we transmitted a personal message from the President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Comrade Voroshilov. Dr. Ba U expressed his deep gratitude for the message.

On behalf of our Government, we invited the Burmese Minister of Defence, U Ba Swe, and the Minister of Industry, U Kyaw Nyein, to visit the Soviet Union. Both Ministers accepted the invitation.

Special mention should be made of our meetings and conversations with U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, which were marked by cordiality and friendship. These meetings resulted in the Soviet-Burmese Declaration signed in Rangoon on December 6.

The declaration notes the identity of the views of the two countries on the major international problems requiring settlement: disarmament, including prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Far East, including the necessity of satisfying the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in relation to Taiwan and the coastal islands, and the question of granting the C.P.R. its rightful place in the United Nations.

The two Governments reaffirmed their unanimous opinion that the policy of forming blocs is to be condemned, and that only a policy of non-participation in such blocs can establish confidence and good will among states. "International peace," the Soviet-Burmese Declaration says, "can be strengthened and the peoples' confidence in the future can be assured, not through the creation of blocs, but only through joint and collective efforts of all peoples."

The views of the two Governments were also found to concur on the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, and of the recent Conference of the

Four Foreign Ministers. The Soviet-Burmese Declaration of December 6 states that the two countries consider that further efforts should be made to solve outstanding international problems.

Our relations with Burma rest on a firm foundation, since both parties are vitally interested in maintaining and furthering co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence.

Our economic relations with the Union of Burma are based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and preclude imposing political or any other shackling conditions by either party. In full conformity with these principles, which are shared by the Burmese Government, we discussed during our stay in Rangoon measures for furthering Soviet-Burmese co-operation in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres, and, in particular, for enlarging the volume of trade between Burma and the U.S.S.R.

It was agreed that the Soviet Union would co-operate in the drawing up of a programme of agricultural development, construction of major irrigation works, and the building of several industrial enterprises in Burma. Burma, in return, will sell the Soviet Union rice, and in the event of the quantities purchased being insufficient to compensate for the value of our deliveries, Burma will enjoy the right to credit, that is, to defer the payments in kind over a number of years by mutual agreement.

In token of good will and respect for the people of the Union of Burma, we offered on behalf of the Soviet Government, and on its instructions, to build and equip, with Soviet means and resources, a technological institute in Rangoon as a gift to the Burmese people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Government of the Union of Burma highly appreciated the motives which prompted the Soviet Government to make this offer, and accepted the gift with deep

gratitude to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.
(*Applause.*)

On behalf of the Burmese people, Prime Minister U Nu offered, in turn, an appropriate quantity of rice and other commodities of Burmese production as a gift to the Soviet Union. On behalf of the people of the Soviet Union, we accepted this gift with gratitude.
(*Applause.*)

A strong desire for cultural intercourse with the Soviet Union is manifested by the Burmese leaders and Burmese intellectuals. We declared that the Soviet Union was ready to develop cultural intercourse with Burma, since this could but benefit the two countries and help to strengthen their friendly relations.

The Government of Burma expressed satisfaction with the good will displayed by the Soviet Government in the Rangoon talks. We, on our part, wish the Union of Burma that it may speedily cope with the aftermath of colonial oppression and war devastation, consolidate and unite the Burmese people, and achieve further success in building an economy independent of foreign states and free of the difficulties it is still experiencing owing to the efforts of certain foreign powers to place Burma at a disadvantage in the world market.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and Burma are unanimous in the desire to preserve and consolidate peace, to safeguard the security of nations, and to promote international co-operation and friendship. The visit of Comrade Khrushchov and myself to Burma as the guests of her Government, and our meetings with the Burmese people, have brought the Soviet Union and Burma still closer. The friendship and co-operation between the two countries is becoming a factor of increasing importance in the effort to relax international tension.

We shall do everything in our power to strengthen and broaden the friendship and co-operation between the two countries for the well-being and happiness of their peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I shall now turn to our visit to Afghanistan.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance and results of our stay in Afghanistan as the guests of His Majesty's Government. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have a common border of 2,346 kilometres, and the two countries are bound by close and friendly relations of long standing.

The Afghan people won their national independence in bitter struggle against the British imperialists, who sought to convert Afghanistan into their colony. The courageous Afghans were thrice victorious in this struggle, and in 1919 they firmly established their independence and statehood. A big role in establishing Afghanistan's independence was played by the defeat suffered by the intervention troops in Central Asia at the hands of Soviet Russia.

Afghanistan has invariably enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union. We were the first power to recognize Afghanistan as a sovereign state, in 1919. Afghanistan, on the other hand, was one of the first foreign countries to recognize the Soviet state established by the Great October Socialist Revolution. These facts suffice to show how deeply rooted are the good relations between the two countries. Experience has shown that these good-neighbourly relations are in the best interests of the peoples of the two countries.

Our meetings in Kabul with His Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah, Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud and other leading Afghan statesmen revealed their desire to maintain and develop the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

This desire of His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan is only to be welcomed, as we said in Kabul. On its part,

the Soviet Government has done, and intends in the future to do, everything necessary to strengthen and develop our relations with this neighbouring country. (*Applause.*)

The exchange of views with leading Afghan statesmen revealed the desire of both Governments to contribute to a further lessening of international tension and extension of international co-operation. We noted with satisfaction that the views of the two Governments concur on a number of international problems, including disarmament and Asian and Far Eastern problems, and this was reflected in the Joint Soviet-Afghan Declaration signed in Kabul on December 18.

In our statements in Kabul we set forth our attitude to the Pushtunistan issue, which is deeply agitating the Afghans. Pushtunistan is inhabited by Afghan "independent tribes." The region was annexed to the British Empire in 1893, and in 1947, against the interests of the tribes inhabiting Pushtunistan, it was incorporated into Pakistan.

We regard as justified and well-founded the demand of Afghanistan that the inhabitants of the bordering region of Pushtunistan should be given the opportunity for a free expression of their will. The people of this area have as much right to national self-determination as any other people. No justification can be found for those who refuse to reckon, and do not reckon, with the lawful national interests of the people of Pushtunistan.

Our relations with Afghanistan are based on a series of treaties concluded after Afghanistan became an independent state. One of the most important is the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression of June 24, 1931.

During our stay in Kabul, agreement was reached with His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan that this treaty should be prolonged for ten years, that is, until 1966. We also agreed that on the expiry of this period the treaty shall

continue in force unless either of the parties proposes that it be terminated. A special protocol to this effect was signed in Kabul. This is an act of great importance, and testifies that both parties take their obligations seriously and intend to develop their relations on the basis of the treaties and agreements they have concluded.

We consider that the policy of neutrality and good-neighbourship pursued by His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan in relation to other countries helps to strengthen the position of the Afghan state. In contrast to Pakistan, which finds herself, owing to her participation in the Baghdad military bloc, in a difficult position internally and externally, Afghanistan undeniably enjoys great possibilities for independent economic and political development.

We would like to see Pakistan, too, enjoy such possibilities. The Soviet Union would like to have no less friendly relations with Pakistan than it has with India, Burma and Afghanistan, and it is not our fault that this is so far not the case. However, the Soviet Government has endeavoured, and will continue to do so, to improve our relations with Pakistan.

During our stay in Afghanistan we had a fruitful exchange of views on economic relations between the two countries and the possibility of expanding them. Our conversations with leading Afghan statesmen revealed new potentialities for broadening economic co-operation between the two countries and, in particular, for enlarging the volume of Soviet-Afghan trade.

On the instructions of our Government, we granted Afghanistan a long-term credit of 100 million U.S. dollars.

While in Kabul we, on behalf of the Soviet Government, extended an invitation to Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud to visit the Soviet Union at his convenience. Mr. Mohammed Daoud accepted the invitation and expressed the wish to

visit our country in 1956. We have no doubt that his stay in the Soviet Union, like the stay of Comrade Khrushchov and myself in Afghanistan, will strengthen the friendly relations between our countries. (*Applause.*)

In the thirty-six years since the establishment of the independent state of Afghanistan, our relations with her have been a model of genuine good-neighbourship and friendly co-operation. And we intend to continue our relations with Afghanistan in a manner that accords with the interests of the peoples of the two countries and with the interests of peace.

We want to see Afghanistan an economically strong and politically independent state, and are glad that our policy towards that country meets with the full understanding of His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan and of the Afghan people.

Comrade Deputies, the strengthening of our friendly ties with India, Burma and Afghanistan is a triumph for the Leninist principles of the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy, a triumph for the principle of peaceful co-existence.

As we know, the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan have different social and political systems. But this is not, and will not be, a hindrance to the continued strengthening of relations between our countries—they are firmly founded on the Five Principles of which I have already spoken.

It is on these principles that the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, India, Burma, Afghanistan and a number of other countries in Europe, Asia and Africa build their relations with one another and with other countries. We deeply respect these principles, as being in full accord with the principles of Soviet foreign policy, and consider that the greater the number of countries that adopt and guide them.

selves by them, the more effectively will international confidence develop, and the more rapidly will tension be lessened and peace be strengthened.

Our visit to Asia evoked much comment all over the world, and especially in Asia and Africa.

In our addresses to rallies and assemblies in India, Burma and Afghanistan, we spoke of the friendship of our people for the peoples of these countries, and of the peace-loving Leninist policy of our Government. We hailed the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery, and expressed our sympathy with those who are still the victims of colonial oppression. Comrade Khrushchov, in his statements, truthfully and frankly expressed our opinion of the actions of the imperialists and colonialists in Asia, Africa, and wherever they have formerly ruled or still maintain their rule.

Foreign press comments reveal the importance attached to our statements in the East. In particular, the press noted that no representative of the bourgeois world would venture to tell the Asian peoples the truth about the colonial powers, that it can be told only by those who champion the equality of all nations, by those who actively work for freedom for all countries and for their right to develop in their own way. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our frank and forthright statements were received with sympathy and understanding not only by those to whom they were directly addressed; they were carried far beyond the confines of India, Burma and Afghanistan and reached the hearing of other Asian and African peoples.

Together with these nations, the positive results of our visit are hailed by the peoples of the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies. Our visit is approved by progressive-minded men and women all over the world, by all our friends. (*Applause.*)

However, our visit to the Asian countries was not to the liking of all. Our statements in India, Burma and Afghanistan, and the documents of friendship signed in Delhi, Rangoon and Kabul, evoked the dissatisfaction and even the resentment of the reactionary press and of official spokesmen in certain countries. Our friendship with India, Burma and Afghanistan is not to their liking. But it is very much to our liking, and we shall work to strengthen it, and also our friendship and co-operation with other countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our frank statements on colonial policy were distasteful to certain leading figures in the West. But the colonialist policy itself is even more distasteful to us and to the Asian and African peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*) We have denounced it and will continue to do so because we consider the colonial system a disgrace to the modern world, and incompatible with the peaceful and democratic principles of the United Nations. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

During our visit, it was alleged in the West that our tour of India, Burma and Afghanistan was designed to prejudice relations between the peoples of these countries and the peoples of the Western Powers. This assertion is devoid of all foundation. The strengthening of the Soviet Union's friendly relations with India, Burma and Afghanistan, far from being prejudicial to the relations of the peoples of these countries with other peoples, will help to promote international co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

This, perhaps, is incomprehensible to those who are in the habit of thinking in terms of military blocs and pacts. But we approach the matter of improving the Soviet Union's relations with other countries in a different way. And a similar view is held by the leading statesmen of India, Burma and Afghanistan; they, like us, are in favour of broad-

ening international co-operation on the basis of peaceful co-existence. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Deputies, the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan once more show the importance of personal contact between leading statesmen in furthering mutual understanding between nations and lessening international tension. We intend to make full use of such contacts in the future.

I should like to take this opportunity to express the cordial thanks of the Soviet Government and our people to the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan for the warm and hearty reception they accorded us. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We send warm greetings to the peoples of these three countries—sincere friends of the Soviet Union—and wish them success in consolidating their national independence and in their peaceful constructive labours. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We whole-heartedly thank the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, who did so much to make our stay in India useful to both countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We tender our cordial thanks to the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, with whom we have established warm and friendly relations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We heartily thank the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. M. Daoud, who is actively upholding Afghan independence and neutrality. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We deem it our duty to express our acknowledgements to the President of the Republic of India, Mr. Prasad, to the President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Ba U, and to the King of Afghanistan, His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We thank all the government and public leaders of these countries who contributed to the success of our visit and gave us every possible help. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, I deem it necessary to declare that the Soviet Government will unswervingly and firmly carry out all the agreements concluded with India, Burma and Afghanistan during our visit.

We shall spare no effort to develop and strengthen friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan, for the good of our peoples and for the good of world peace. (*Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

DELIVERED AT FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U.S.S.R.

December 29, 1955

Comrade Deputies,

We have listened to Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin's report on the results of our visit to the three friendly countries of India, Burma and Afghanistan. The report expressed the essential of what had to be reported to the Supreme Soviet on the results of our visit and the talks which we had on the instructions of the Soviet Government in those countries and on the agreements reached between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Governments of India, Burma and Afghanistan.

I entirely agree with all that Comrade Bulganin said in his report. I would also like to comment on certain questions.

The Soviet Government accepted with great pleasure the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru of India and sent us to India on a friendly return visit in order to establish personal contact with the leaders and the people of India. There is much in common that unites our two countries and the chief thing is the fight for the strengthening of international peace.

I do not think it is necessary to speak about the importance of the Republic of India. The great Indian people are determined to strengthen the national and political independence that their country has won. India

as a peace-loving state plays an ever-increasing role in the settlement of the most important international questions. She is an active fighter for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the whole world.

Having freed themselves from the colonial regime the peoples of India are persistently seeking ways to develop their country. The Government of the Republic of India led by such a prominent statesman and politician as the esteemed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is pursuing a consistent policy of independence. And this is worthy of profound respect.

Close exchange and businesslike co-operation of our countries is useful and profitable to both countries.

We were guided by the same ideas when we accepted the invitation of the Governments of Burma and Afghanistan to visit those countries.

We knew that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would provoke dissatisfaction on the part of the colonialists, who are afraid that the strengthening of the Soviet Union's friendship with countries which were but a short time ago oppressed by them will further weaken the positions of the colonial powers.

But Messrs. the Colonialists have only got themselves to blame.

It is generally known that the principles of co-operation and friendship of the Soviet Union with other states differ radically from the principles on which the policy of colonialists is based. The Soviet Union, setting the example of deep understanding of and respect for the interests of all peoples and countries, both great and small, proceeds from the thesis that there are no unequal or inferior nations.

Strengthening its friendship with other states the Soviet Union does not impose its will on them or dictate any preliminary conditions as the imperialist states do. It does not

seek thereby any special advantages for itself, but proceeds from the principle that it has to do with equal partners whose interests must be respected.

Every people has the right to build its life as it wishes. The enslavement or plundering of one country by another is a crying injustice and disgrace.

The equality of nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, non-aggression and peaceful co-existence of countries irrespective of their political systems, these are the principles on which our relations with other countries have always been based. Our strict observance of these principles and our co-operation with the states of Asia, which is becoming closer and closer, are forcing the colonialists to revise their tactics in regard to those countries where they are striving to hold their positions, and easing the situation in those countries.

This is a factor of no mean importance.

We also bore in mind that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would promote close contacts between both the peoples and the leaders of our countries. The peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan received the opportunity of knowing more about the Soviet Union and about the life of the peoples of the Soviet country. This will further strengthen our friendship.

Finally, we were firmly convinced that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would further strengthen the position of world peace and would weaken the camp of the supporters of war. That circumstance alone made our visit extremely necessary, for the cause of peace is a great cause which reflects the greatest wish of the whole of humanity.

We may now say that the great hopes which were laid on that visit have been fully justified. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Deputies,

I shall not claim your attention for an account of our impressions of our journey through India, Burma and Afghanistan, for that would take too long. I shall say one thing—that our impressions are exceptionally strong and stirring. They are unforgettable. And the strongest of all our impressions is that of our meetings with the people.

We expected a cordial welcome in India from her leaders as well as from her people. But our feelings in the first minutes of our stay there exceeded all that we had expected.

In Delhi, the capital of the Republic of India, and in all the other states and towns of India we were welcomed by hundreds of thousands, millions of people. We were welcomed with exceptional cordiality in which we saw an expression of the deep love of the peoples of India for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Wherever we appeared we were surrounded by friends acclaiming the eternal and indestructible friendship of India and the Soviet Union. As a beloved brother is welcomed in a loving family, so we were welcomed in the great family of the peoples of India, warmly and cordially as representatives of the great Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The same friendly welcome was extended to us by the peoples of Burma, Prime Minister U Nu, and other leaders of the Union of Burma. Just as warm was our welcome in Afghanistan by the people and also by Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud and the other leaders of Afghanistan.

We certainly did not think that the enthusiasm and cordial friendship expressed by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan towards us applied to us personally.

We saw in them an expression of the boundless love and respect of the peoples of those friendly countries for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We saw in them a sincere acknowledgement by the peo-

ples of India, Burma and Afghanistan of the historical services of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the fight for world peace and a bright future for all humanity. (*Stormy applause.*)

While in India, Burma and Afghanistan we had an extensive exchange of opinions with the Governments of those countries on many of the most important questions of international politics. Everywhere we met general mutual understanding on all questions discussed. The chief things which we discussed were peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and questions concerning the further development of the economic and cultural links between our countries.

The course of the talks showed unanimity of views and we quickly found mutually acceptable solutions for all questions and the necessary formulas for joint declarations and agreements.

That was the case in India as it was also in Burma and in Afghanistan. It is very pleasant to note this.

Does not this prove that with good will and honourable intentions of the leaders of countries it is possible and indispensable to solve by peaceful means all questions of mutual relations between countries in spite of differences in social systems?

There are some general questions the solution of which is absolutely indisputable and mutually acceptable, and in which all peoples are equally interested irrespective of whether they live in socialist or capitalist countries. In the solution of such questions our co-operation can be crowned with success.

The most obvious and convincing example of this is perhaps the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and India. The social and state systems in the Soviet Union and in India differ one from the other. We and the leaders of India have different points of view on a number of questions.

Neither we nor our friends, the leaders of the Indian state, try to hide this.

However, this does not hinder us and our Indian friends from keeping to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence on which we base our relations with other countries, or from maintaining and developing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. The cordial and friendly relations between our countries are progressing and developing.

It is in the same direction that our relations with the Union of Burma and Afghanistan are developing. Afghanistan has long been our friend and good neighbour.

As a result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan mutually profitable economic agreements have been concluded between the Soviet Union and those countries, which will serve the interests of the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan.

In states like the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan we see equal partners in the fight for universal peace. Between us and the leaders of the countries which we visited there is no difference of opinion on questions of the fight for peace. And these questions are the main ones. Their solution deeply concerns all humanity.

Our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan and the results of the Soviet-Indian, Soviet-Burmese and Soviet-Afghan talks have produced a favourable impression on all friends of peace.

In some countries, however, our visit called forth unfriendliness on the part of certain individuals, including official personalities, and even outspoken hostility and attacks on us.

This was to be observed mainly in Britain and the United States of America. Some echoes or rather undertones were to be heard in other countries too. For example, in Canada, where the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pearson, made a short-sighted declaration.

What was the reason for this?

They censured us, lectured us and reacted in various other ways towards us because from their point of view we were wrong in attacking colonialists, because we sharply criticized that form of oppression and plundering of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries by the imperialists.

Well, what was new in what we said about the colonialists and colonial regimes? Why did our utterances call forth such a furious reaction among the colonialists and their advocates? The facts we quoted are known to all and are indisputable.

Take the fact, for example, that the British colonialists, not the people but the colonialists, lorded it over India for nearly two centuries and that for a long time they oppressed the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan.

What did that lead to?

I allow myself a reference to an authoritative expert in this question, the Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, who enjoys universal respect.

In his book *The Discovery of India* he points out that "the most obvious fact is the sterility of British rule in India and the thwarting of Indian life by it. Alien rule is inevitably cut off from the creative energies of the people it dominates. When this alien rule has its own economic and cultural centre far from the subject country and is further backed by racialism, this divorce is complete, and leads to spiritual and cultural starvation of the subject peoples."

Describing the effects of British rule in India, Mr. Nehru recalls the terrible famine which spread over the country during the Second World War. He writes:

"This famine unveiled the picture of India as it was below the thin veneer of the prosperity of a small number of people at the top—a picture of poverty and ugliness and human decay after all these generations of British rule. That was the culmination and fulfilment of British rule in India. It

was no calamity of nature or play of the elements that brought this famine, nor was it caused by actual war operations and enemy blockade. Every competent observer is agreed that it was a man-made famine which could have been foreseen and avoided."

To this we can add that according to figures given by the Indian economist B. Singh, author of the book *Population and Food Planning in India*, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century alone India suffered famine eighteen times; at that time 26 million persons died of hunger. In the twentieth century the scale of famine grew. In 1943 alone about three and a half million persons died of hunger in India.

These are facts. Facts which do not speak in favour of the colonialists.

The fate of the Burmese people, who was also under the domination of the British colonialists, was just as tragic. As early as 1824, Britain started an armed conflict to seize Burma, which ended in 1885 by the complete occupation of the country. Burma was ruled by a governor-general with unlimited powers, appointed by Britain.

During the Second World War Burma was occupied by the Japanese. After Japan capitulated in 1945 the British colonialists returned to Burma and tried to restore their mastery. However, the patriotic forces of Burma, which had grown in the fight against Japanese occupation, offered determined resistance. In January 1948 the British imperialists were forced to grant Burma independence.

The peoples of India, as also of Burma and Afghanistan, did not invite the colonialists to plunder their countries. The colonialists asserted their mastery in those countries as the outcome of wars of conquest and plunder. The territories of India and Burma were not barren lands when the colonialists invaded them; they were inhabited by peoples who had a high culture of their own. It is known for example that the

culture of the peoples of India was not inferior in level to the cultures of European countries, including Britain. But India was weak from the military point of view, she was not so well armed. That was the only reason why she fell a prey to the colonialists.

Some apologists of the colonial regime now say:

“Did we not volunteer to give India her freedom?”

That is, to put it mildly, a rather conventional way of expressing how and why the colonialists left India and agreed to the existence of an independent Republic of India.

They were forced to agree because it was their only way out. Had they tried to remain in India they would have sustained enormous losses and would have been driven out in the end by the Indian people just as the colonialists of all colours and shades and Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt band with them were driven out of China by the Chinese people. (*Stormy applause.*)

The colonialists sometimes like to say that they have a great historical role, that of spreading civilization. Such legends are intended for simpletons and overcredulous people who do not know history.

Perhaps the British colonialists did raise the culture of the popular masses in the countries they conquered, helped those countries to create their industry, to develop science and to raise the welfare of the people?

No, they were plunderers in the fullest sense of the word. They plundered those countries and greatly delayed their development. I remember how on a visit to a milk farm in Bombay the Chief Minister of the State of Bombay, Mr. Desai, said bitterly:

“Everything was reduced to nothing in the years of British rule. During those 200 years we nearly returned to barbarism.”

The peoples of India, Burma and other countries where the colonialists ruled will need great efforts to liquidate the dire consequences of the mastery of the colonialists.

Is it not a fact that until recently more than 80 per cent of the population of India and 63 per cent of the population of Burma were illiterate?

It is also a fact that the standard of living of the population of India, the exploitation of which was a gold mine for British capitalists, is considerably lower than the living standard of the population of Britain. The same can be said of Burma and the other countries where the colonialists ruled for a long time.

"But," the defenders of the colonial system will say, "these countries were members of the British Empire and were on an almost equal footing with Britain."

Where is the equality they talk about?

We did not see any trace of it. We saw that as long as the mastery of the British colonialists lasted they built for themselves wonderful palaces in India and in Burma.

They created conditions for a handful of feudal lords, who went over to their side, and supported them. But the millions of the Indian people were deprived of all rights and most cruelly exploited.

The Indians could naturally not put up with such a situation. The Indian people and all its fighters against the power of the colonialists in India, under the leadership of prominent men like Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders, played a great role in the conquest of India's political independence. We naturally sympathized with them in their fight, rejoiced in their successes, and give them their due for the courage they showed. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are now told that by opposing the colonialists and unmasking their plunderous policy we showed a certain unfriendliness towards Britain and other countries, al-

though we did not name any other countries and did not name Britain very often either. (*Animation.*) But we do not want to play hide and seek. We know just as the whole world does who were the colonialists in India, Burma and Afghanistan.

Indeed, when we spoke of the ignoble role of the colonialists we meant the British colonialists also. But the colonialists are not Britain and her people. The British colonialists will never have the right to identify themselves with the people of Britain.

There was nothing in our speeches that was at all insulting for Britain or the British people. We have a deep respect for the talented and hard-working British people and we desire friendship with them. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We said nothing insulting or offensive for the British Government either. We condemned and still do condemn the colonial system, considering that the sooner it ends the better it will be, for it is extremely unjust and inhuman. The sooner the peoples of the colonial countries are freed from it the better it will be. We are the sincerest friends of those who fight against colonial slavery and colonial dependence. (*Applause.*) We shall rejoice in and acclaim the liquidation of colonial regimes. I think the majority of the British people will do the same. (*Applause.*)

The time when the colonialists could boss it over the colonial and dependent countries with impunity is receding into the past. But the colonialists themselves will not, of course, wish to part of their own free will with a system which enables them to plunder whole peoples. That is not a thing to count on.

In our speeches and acts we wish to express our sympathy with the peoples who have not yet freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism and their fight for national liberation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We understand that if the colonialists feel insulted it is not because in our speeches we condemn the past activity of the colonialists in India and Burma.

In their efforts to justify by some means the activity of their predecessors in the oppression of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries they try to maintain the present positions of the colonialists, which are still powerful enough. For even now they have a lot of colonies.

Let us just take Africa. It is divided entirely between European and non-European countries. There are various forms and various methods of pursuing colonialist policy, but that does not make the chains of colonial slavery any the lighter. Those chains strangle the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and make them hate the colonialists.

The peoples of these countries rise with greater and greater determination to fight against the colonial regimes. And we sympathize with their struggle and wish them every success. (*Stormy applause.*)

One must simply wonder at certain short-sighted politicians accusing us of hostility towards Britain or America and saying that we want to raise quarrels between those countries and India, Burma and other countries. They themselves commit hostile acts towards those countries.

What, for example, can be the attitude in India to the statement made by Mr. Dulles and the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Cunha, concerning Goa?

Just think of what Dulles said: he took the liberty of openly declaring that the Indian territory of Goa must belong to Portugal just because the Portuguese conquerors seized it 400 years ago.

In this respect the Indian press justly reminded Mr. Dulles that 250 years ago what is now the United States of America was a British colony, and that if we followed

his logic then he, Dulles, should consider himself even now as a subject of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

To agree with Mr. Dulles' statement would be not only blessing but even perpetuating the system of colonial oppression.

We, of course, cannot agree with it. We are of the opinion that it is an incorrect statement arising from an incorrect attitude to the interests of peoples. And the Indian people, as well as the leading politicians in India, estimated the Dulles-Cunha joint statement about Goa at its just worth, for this statement is a disgrace for civilized states.

Allow me, in the same connection, to say a few words about another question over which the Indian people are rightly worried, the so-called Kashmir question. During our visit to Kashmir Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and I said clearly and definitely what Soviet people think on this question, which rose not in the people but was artificially conjured up by certain states who wish to sow enmity between peoples.

In Kashmir we were convinced that its people regard its territory as an inalienable part of the Republic of India. This question has been irrevocably decided by the people of Kashmir and it is our profound conviction that the Kashmir people will succeed in finally arranging its affairs without any interference from outside, whether or not that pleases those who desire to create in Kashmir a new centre of unrest and international dispute. (*Applause.*)

The solicitude of the Indian people and their Government for the consolidation of their state and for the satisfaction of the legitimate desires of all the peoples inhabiting the Republic of India has the understanding and sympathy of the Soviet people, as have also the desires of all peoples fighting for their national independence.

In our speeches in India and Burma we said that our country is European and Asian at the same time, and that a large part of its territory lies on the Asian continent. At the same time we stressed that all the peoples of the Soviet Union, irrespective of whether they live in the European or the Asian part of the country and of the colour of their skin and their religious beliefs, make up a single brotherly family, strong in its indestructible friendship. All the peoples of our country are united by the great aim of building communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Union is a great multi-national state composed of sixteen equal voluntarily united Union Republics. All power in our country belongs to the working class, the labouring peasantry and the intellectuals—the workers of Soviet society.

We have always been opposed to national oppression, to the exploitation of man by man whatever its form, and more so to the mastery of the colonialists who have brought so much suffering to humanity. We declared this once more quite frankly and straightforwardly in our speeches in India and Burma, underlining that the colonial system is anti-popular and profoundly unjust.

Why are the colonialists so worried?

Because our words stirred enormous sympathy in the popular masses. And not only where we spoke, but where people heard of our speeches and where they will still hear more of the unshakable position of the Soviet Union, condemning the colonial system of oppression and enslavement. (*Stormy applause.*)

These are words of truth, and the imperialists will not succeed in keeping them out by any iron curtain.

It must be noted that the enemies of colonialism are not the only ones to censure Dulles' position; it is censured too by men who are not opponents of the colonial regime.

As an instance we may quote the speech by American Senator Kefauver.

"We in the United States," the Senator said, "must completely disassociate ourselves from the old colonialism in Asia."

Note the fact that Mr. Kefauver does not call for a renunciation of colonialism in general, but of the "old" colonialism. (*Laughter and animation.*)

He would like the colonialists to look for new forms in order to consolidate their colonial mastery and advises "new-fashioned" colonialism.

That is why he gives the challenge: "We must not allow our aid to be used to prop up bad governments."

That is a most valuable acknowledgement.

The colonialists see how determinedly the peoples are rising against colonial slavery. They see that the peoples are prepared for self-sacrifice and courageous feats and a selfless fight for the freedom and national independence of their countries. The colonialists have already been driven out of a large number of countries.

An inspiring example for all the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries has been set by the great Chinese people, who have thrown off the yoke of foreign oppression, taken their destiny in their own hands and created a powerful Chinese People's Republic, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, and are now scoring successes in the building of socialism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The colonialists have now decided to change the forms of their colonial domination. They more and more seldom use harsh forms of violence such as sending troops to colonial countries and other acts of gross interference in the affairs of enslaved countries.

Now they do it more delicately: they bribe people and the powers that be, they implant "good governments" and create aggressive blocs like the Baghdad pact.

They release funds for what they call "economic aid," give "free" arms to certain countries. But in payment for these arms the states which receive them must supply the colonialists with cannon fodder and raise great armies, thus exhausting their own people.

The colonialists give one dollar in the form of "aid" in order later to receive ten dollars in exchange by the exploitation of the peoples who have accepted that "aid." When they succeed in this they enslave the peoples politically too. These are the "new" forms of colonial rule.

This does not apply to the countries of Asia alone, or to Africa or the other so-called underdeveloped countries. The U.S. monopolists are vigorously introducing these forms of "aid" in the countries of Europe. There is a strong flavour of this about NATO too.

How can we explain such "magnanimity" on the part of the United States, which induces it to supply free arms to European countries, including Western Germany which herself is a highly developed country? The aim they pursue is the same. To fetter to themselves with chains of gold the underdeveloped countries and the highly developed ones as well.

Exposing this policy, we say that NATO and other similar blocs are organizations which pursue far-reaching political and economic aims.

They say that NATO was organized because the Soviet Union displays aggressiveness and therefore some super-mighty united army of the states incorporated in NATO must be created to oppose the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp.

It is not difficult to understand for whom and for what such lies are needed. They are resorted to in order to divert the attention of the popular masses from the changes now taking place in countries which are becoming more and more dependent on the U.S. monopolists.

But the mirage thus artificially created is already beginning to fade, and people now come to realize where truth is and where untruth.

People are beginning to reason as follows: if the Soviet Union indeed intended to lay the road to the new social organization in other countries by means of war it would have done so long ago.

Who in fact does not know that it was the Soviet Land which had the strongest army at the end of the war? Nothing hindered the Soviet Union then from pushing forward its armies and occupying the whole of Europe. Yet that did not happen, and it could not happen.

There is a well-known principle of Marxism-Leninism that revolutions are not exported but are achieved by the peoples themselves fighting for their emancipation. The Soviet people always followed and will follow the path of peaceful co-existence shown by the great Lenin, which provides for non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why, then, since the end of the war have some imperialist circles been fanning war hysteria in their attempts to scare peoples with an imaginary "Soviet menace"?

Just for their own selfish profits.

Their aim is clear: war hysteria is necessary for the imperialists in order to plunder the people with impunity, to develop war industry at the cost of great taxation in the interests of the monopoly bosses who are working for war.

Thereby they accumulate enormous capital. It is sufficient to remember that the big U.S. monopolies now draw two and a half times more profits from production of war material than they did during the war.

In 1955 the profits of American corporations according to incomplete data were 43,000 million dollars. The monop-

olists have therefore enough funds to give what they call "aid" to those countries which the United States draws into its sphere of influence. In reality this is not aid but throwing crumbs from the master's table on terms equal to slavery.

The Soviet Union condemns such a policy. It bases its relations with other countries on equality and mutual advantage and on non-interference in the internal affairs of these countries.

When we give economic or technical help to this or that country we do it as friends, not imposing our own conditions.

We have no superfluous capital. Our economy is run according to a plan. We are not interested in exporting capital or in exporting goods which we produce in the quantity required for our country and for our allies and to guarantee trade with foreign countries. For the time being some articles are produced in our country in lesser quantities than we need for the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the country.

In spite of this, however, we consider it our duty to share with our friends and to help them as brothers. Such help, rendered on conditions of mutual advantage, is profitable to both sides. Our friends see that they get disinterested help from us out of funds assigned from our domestic resources. And our friends cannot but appreciate this, for it shows our honourable intentions.

In these conditions the monopolists are obliged to change their methods to a certain extent. Some of the more reasonable bourgeois figures now say that economic help to the underdeveloped countries from the capitalist countries must be intensified. That is not bad. Let the capitalist countries give such help. It is much better than involving those countries in war blocs and alliances.

This aid which the capitalist states intend to render the countries which recently won their independence cannot but be regarded as a form of Soviet assistance to these countries. For if the Soviet Union did not exist, would monopolist circles and imperialist states render help to underdeveloped countries? Of course they would not. That never happened before. (*Animation. Applause.*)

But I have said that the so-called "free" aid can in reality lead to the enslaving of those to whom it is offered if those countries are not discriminate in their attitude towards it.

Recently reviewing the successes achieved by the Conservative Government the then British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Macmillan, said among other things that that government had achieved success in the settlement of affairs with Iran, with the result that Abadan petrol began to flow to Britain in a broad stream.

But this is wealth belonging to Iran that is flowing away. It is gold going from Iran into the vaults of British, American, Dutch and French banks. And this at a time when the peoples of Iran are in great need. By their "aid" to Iran they are picking up Iran petrol dirt-cheap and growing rich on it and on the hunger and poverty of the Iranian people.

We do not say to the peoples of Asia: do not take aid offered to you by the American and British monopolists. But we honestly warn them that they must be careful with such "aid," because the monopolists do not give anything free.

Capitalists do nothing without getting paid for it. Capital cannot exist without profits.

Comrade Deputies,

I already said that we have kept the best memories of our sojourn in India, of our meetings with the leaders of the Republic of India, with the leaders of the states, with

the workers, peasants and intellectuals of India, with all we came in contact with.

We highly appreciate friendship with India, with her great and hard-working people, friendship with Mr. Nehru and other prominent Indian politicians with whom we established contact, and we wish to maintain and develop our friendly relations.

We and our Indian friends should like to develop and strengthen these friendly relations without prejudice to our relations, or to those of India, with other states.

Our friendship, as we understand it, should not be confined to friendly contacts with one, two or several states. We want friendship with all states.

That is why we are glad of the friendly relations which our friends are developing with other states, including some with which we, for one reason or another, perhaps have somewhat strained or cool relations. Through the friend that we consider India to be we hope to improve our relations with those states.

We have always sincerely strived for friendship with all countries, including the capitalist countries. In particular we want friendship with the most powerful of the capitalist countries, the U.S.A., Britain and France.

When we have achieved this, and it depends mainly not on us but on the Governments and the peoples of the U.S.A., Britain and France, we shall have created the conditions for real peaceful co-existence and competition between the two systems.

Unfortunately, we have not yet achieved this, but we do not give up hope and shall spare no efforts to attain it. (*Applause.*)

The standpoint of the leaders of India, who have declared that India occupies a neutral position between us and other states, meets with full understanding and support from us.

India indeed is a neutral state and deserves trust and respect from us as well as from other states.

Our relations with the great Chinese People's Republic are most brotherly. The peoples of our two countries are brothers.

Friendly relations have been established and are being strengthened between us and the Republic of India. Wherever we went in India we heard, coming from the hearts of the people, the words: "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*"—Indians and Russians are "brothers!" (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India make up one half of mankind and are a powerful force in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrade Deputies,

Discussing the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan, analyzing our speeches in those countries, some foreign politicians and some of the more indiscriminate bourgeois journalists accuse the Soviet Union of renouncing the spirit of Geneva. That is untrue.

We are active partakers in the important contribution to the easing of international tension that took place as a result of the meeting of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers in Geneva.

We fought for that easing at the Conference of the Heads of Government and at the Conference of Foreign Ministers who were charged with considering such most important problems as the guarantee of security in Europe and the German problem, which is connected with it, the question of disarmament and the development of contacts between East and West.

It is not our fault that we have not yet achieved the results for which the peace-loving peoples are fighting in

their effort to ensure further relaxation of world tension and strengthen peace.

The Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers and the Conference of Foreign Ministers, particularly the former, were warmly acclaimed by all peoples in the world. The peoples' desire for relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of peace obliged the participants of these conferences to model their speeches and proposals accordingly.

Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that the representatives of the Western Powers at the Conference of the Heads of Government went no further than fine words in support of a relaxation of international tension. This applies especially to their Foreign Ministers, who displayed no desire to work effectively and try to achieve the aims set before them by the Conference of the Heads of Government.

This shows that the Governments of the Western Powers, in sending their top representatives to the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, were not animated by the desire for a concrete solution of the questions on the agenda of the conference. In going to that conference they were making a concession to public opinion which exerted pressure on them.

The very fact of the convocation of the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, the declarations made at it and the programme of action outlined by the Heads of Government for their Foreign Ministers—all this naturally contributed to the relaxation of international tension and gave rise to hopes for some more concrete steps to avert military conflicts and end the "cold war." Thus the spirit of Geneva was born.

The peoples hailed this because they want peace, they want cuts in taxation, a decrease in expenditures on armaments, they want these huge sums to be expended for rais-

ing the living standard of the population. That is the concrete desire of the peoples.

But what pleases the peoples, what the peoples dream of, does not please the capitalists, who are producing atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons. The prospects of a cut in armaments and still more of disarmament are considered by the monopolists as a prospect of a cut in profits, and that they can by no means agree to.

That is why, immediately after the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, those who produce means of destruction and those who carry out their will and occupy leading posts in the capitalist states, not only did not try to broaden and deepen the spirit of Geneva, but, on the contrary, they endeavoured to nip it in the bud.

As for the Soviet Union, during the Conference of the Heads of Government and at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers, its representatives did all they could to achieve positive results.

Unfortunately, we met no reciprocity in our endeavour, and the questions about which all mankind is so deeply concerned were not settled.

We shall spare no efforts to settle these questions at last. But for that our efforts alone are not sufficient. The efforts of our partners are also needed.

Finally, an enormous role falls to the social forces, the forces of millions of people who are for the guarantee of security, for disarmament, for the relaxation of international tension and for the cessation of the "cold war."

The most acute question today is that of European security. On the solution of this question depends the settlement of other international problems. You know, however, that our partners in the negotiations, the U.S.A., Britain and France, opposed to this question the German problem.

Their position is that the German Democratic Republic must be united to Western Germany, liquidating the social gains of the workers in the G.D.R., and that that united German state must be armed to the teeth and at the same time included in NATO. On these conditions they are not unwilling to sign a treaty on European security, although in fact it would not lead to a guarantee of security in Europe but would, on the contrary, greatly increase the danger of a new war in Europe with all the terrible consequences for the peoples.

The supporters of this position do not hide the fact that such a military combination is designed for only one aim: to strengthen the camp of the NATO countries and to create for it a preponderance which would force the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies to capitulate to them and accept their conditions.

Fine security!

Every man of common sense will understand that such plans are not fated to be realized. And if there is a real desire to solve the problem of European security, the problem must be approached seriously, and the real situation taken into account.

This real situation is characterized first of all by the fact that on German territory at present there have been established two states with different political and social systems, one of them, the German Democratic Republic, following the path of struggle for the strengthening of peace and democracy, while the leaders of the other state, the German Federal Republic, are supporters of the policy "from strength," with the German Federal Republic a member of the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc.

What does this mean? It means that in the present conditions there is no real possibility for the unification of these two so different German states. But does that mean that

it is now impossible to guarantee collective security in Europe and thereby to contribute to the guarantee of world peace? No, by no means.

The ensuring of security in Europe and the provision of conditions for strengthening peace are in the interests of Britain and the U.S.S.R., France and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, all European states and the U.S.A. too.

If we really proceed from this principle and remember that both German states, which are now members of contending groups of states, could successfully be members of a general European system of security which could replace both these groups, the question can be solved in the way the interests of the peoples demand.

We see no other solution. Nobody will force us to strengthen with our own hands a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states. (*Applause.*)

But that is just the aim of those who propose that we should agree to such a unification of Germany as would involve a unified Germany's membership in an aggressive anti-Soviet bloc.

First of all we should like the Germans themselves, especially in Western Germany, to understand us correctly on this question. The peoples of the U.S.S.R., Germany and the European countries of People's Democracy have twice been involved in the bloodshed of world wars, and the peoples of our country and of Germany had to bear the heaviest sacrifices of all in those wars. It is high time to think of this and to find the correct solution which will prevent the recurrence of such events in the future.

As for our relations with Western Germany, we have more than once declared that in the interests of the Soviet Union as well as of the German Federal Republic it is expedient that good friendly relations should be established

between our countries. All conditions are to hand for the establishment of such relations.

I shall remark in passing that our efforts for the guarantee of general European security and for an appropriate solution of the German question are in no degree opposed to the interests of Britain and France. On the contrary, if it is supposed for an instant that the completely unrealistic dream of militant personalities in the U.S.A. for the inclusion of a unified Germany in the aggressive bloc were realized, it would hardly be possible for the British and French to live in tranquillity. The German revanchists would have their hands untied. They would take what action they think fit, and naturally France would be the most tempting morsel for them.

We are not talking of this because we want it to be so. No, we shall do everything for it not to be so. But the experience of history teaches us that this danger exists all the more as France—and even Britain—is weaker than the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

That is why it is our sincere desire to be correctly understood in France and Britain too. Is it not better for us to co-ordinate our activities and find the right solution for the question of European security rather than waste our efforts on preparations to fight against one another? (*Prolonged applause.*)

In this connection I wish to recall that the proposals made at Geneva by the French Prime Minister, M. Edgar Faure, and the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, provide a basis for negotiations on European security.

Agreement on this question would also ease the solution of other most important problems, including that of disarmament.

We are all well aware that at the Geneva conferences, just as in UNO, the Soviet Union put forward a number of

concrete proposals for a cut in arms, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of international control. Agreement on these questions was hindered by the change in the position of the U.S.A., which suddenly went back on its former proposals when we agreed to take them as a basis.

Now the U.S.A., laying aside, in fact, the question of a cut in armaments, brings to the fore the only proposal made by President Eisenhower at Geneva, that of exchange of military information and of unhindered air photography.

We have already pointed out that the air photography suggestion does not solve the problem. As long as a cut in armaments is not actually foreseen, but an increase of armaments is contemplated, the flying over territories and taking of air photographs can only help to fan military passions and war hysteria. Thus we do not get control or anything like control. It is in actual fact a means for better reconnoitring the forces of the other country. Is it not clear that the information thus obtained can be used in order to pick out the appropriate time for a sudden attack on it. The question is: what is the difference between this and what is called military reconnaissance? There is no substantial difference.

It is quite another matter to show a realistic approach to the problem of disarmament: to agree on levels of armament, on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to establish a reasonable system of international control, practicable in present conditions, on railway junctions, naval bases, aerodromes and so forth, which would make it possible to prevent sudden attack on one country by another. Such measures could be quite well realized and all peoples would welcome them.

Some opponents of disarmament proceed from the false supposition that they are superior in power and it is there-

fore disadvantageous for them to disarm. We have warned and still warn these champions of the infamous policy "from strength" that they may make serious miscalculations in their hazardous game. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We do not want to scare anybody. Still less do we want to boast about our military and technical achievements. But in order to cool the ardour of the most violent champions of the armament race we must remind them of the results of the experiments recently carried out on the latest Soviet hydrogen bomb.

The power of this weapon, as was already stated, is equal to that of millions of tons of ordinary explosive and it can be considerably increased. We are still in favour of the prohibition of the production, testing and use of all kinds of atomic and hydrogen weapons. But those who are opposed to this would do well not to forget the results of the experiments referred to. (*Stormy applause.*)

The question of the development of contacts between East and West, which was discussed at Geneva, is also of great importance. The Soviet Union does in fact promote the development of such contacts. In our desire to relax international tension and establish business contacts with various foreign personalities, we, for example, have not refused and do not refuse visas to foreigners who express the desire to come to the Soviet Union and learn about its life.

This year many American senators and congressmen were in our country; we willingly received them and had conversations with them.

Many correspondents of reactionary American newspapers who specialize in inventing the most absurd anti-Soviet articles travelled freely over the Soviet Union. We knew about this and allowed them to come to the Soviet Union, although it was common knowledge that such jour-

nalists come to us only in order to carry on writing in the spirit of the "cold war."

But the American authorities have so far allowed the travel to America of only a small agricultural delegation, a delegation of builders and a single group of Soviet journalists, who, by the way, had to wait for their visas for nine months. Children were even born to some of them during that time. (*Laughter, applause.*)

We want an intensification of the contacts of Soviet people with the widest circles of the U.S.A. and other countries. We want the strengthening of mutual friendship but not interference of other countries in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, as someone suggested in Geneva. Naturally, we will never allow that.

We cannot refrain from noting in passing that some statesmen in the West have recently manifested an understanding of the spirit of Geneva which, to say the least, is a strange one. They want the Soviet Union unilaterally to disarm and to disarm morally, spiritually and ideologically too.

Talk on this subject is not new, this is not the first year it has been going on, although life has already given severe lessons to those who wanted to impose such conditions on the Soviet Union.

I shall not be revealing any secret if I say that this unrealistic policy towards the Soviet Union is being pursued most persistently in the United States of America, the ignoble role of its singular theoretician having been taken on by the present U.S. State Secretary, Mr. Dulles.

It is he who for a long period has been actively agitating for the infamous idea of "hurling back," "massive retaliation" and other absurd things.

Not wishing, obviously, to reckon with reality, certain circles in the U.S.A. still try under present conditions

after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers to speak the language of the already long bankrupt policy "from strength." This is the source of all the talk that "pressure must continue to be exerted on the Soviet Union," "to force the Reds to retreat."

Special mention must be made in this connection of the stand taken at present by some prominent U.S. statesmen, including President Eisenhower, who, as we know, spoke a lot at Geneva about the necessity for relaxation of international tension.

I refer in particular to the so-called Christmas Messages of President Eisenhower, State Secretary Dulles and other responsible personages in America to the populations of the People's Democracies, messages which in no way reflect the spirit of Geneva and are nothing else but gross interference in the internal affairs of free and sovereign states, which are also members of the United Nations.

In their Christmas Messages these American leaders stated that they "pray" for a change in the existing order in those countries and openly promise the "support" of the United States of America in this respect.

Does this show a desire for reconciliation, an endeavour to strengthen and extend the spirit of Geneva?

No, it tends in exactly the opposite direction, it leads to the fanning of passions and, consequently, to a new armament race, to the aggravation of the threat of war.

I really did not want to talk about all this and especially of Mr. Eisenhower, for whom I have particular respect. It may be said that Khrushchov, when he talks about these questions, wants to do away with the spirit of Geneva. But really it is not I who put forward all these questions; I am just answering those who violate the spirit of Geneva, by openly interfering in the internal affairs of our allies and friends, the countries of People's Democracy.

As I have come to talk of the Christmas Messages which have such an outspoken political character, we can understand their authors for they belong to pretty solid firms. Let us take as an example an eminent representative of that group, Mr. Harriman. It is common knowledge that he is a multi-millionaire. Others too have more or less solid capital; God knows how much, we have not counted it; but if they have fewer millions than Harriman, they certainly want to have more than he has. (*Animation.*)

They are therefore bothered not so much about human souls as about their own fortunes. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

When the authors of the Christmas Messages advise a change of order in the countries of People's Democracy, they are backing Bat'a, Radziwill, Potocki, Bratianu and other big capitalists and landed magnates who were pitched out of the countries of People's Democracy by the workers of those countries. (*Prolonged applause.*) But the peoples of those countries must not be identified with the Bat'as, the Radziwills, the Potockis, the Bratianus and others.

The American authors of the by no means religious Christmas Messages are closely connected with the capitalists who were driven away or fled from the countries of People's Democracy. In their desire to change the new way of life in the countries of People's Democracy these American politicians want the restoration in those countries of the capitalist order, the restoration of capitalist works and factories, the return of the land to the big estate-owners.

But Mr. Harriman does not want the capitalists alone to return to those countries, he himself apparently wants to boss it in Hungary's economy as he did before People's Democracy was established there.

But there is no return to the old. No Christmas Messages will help either the landlords or the capitalists, the bankers

or the big tradesmen, or any other exploiters whom the workers have driven out of the countries of People's Democracy. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Here we can recall our own experience. When the peoples of our country overthrew the capitalist order and created the first state of workers and peasants in the world there were no few champions of the old capitalist order within the country as well as abroad, who prayed hard for the restoration in Russia of the old capitalist order.

Abroad they were praying with all their hearts for the Milyukovs, the Tereshchenkos, the Hugheses, the Ryabushinskys and other representatives of big capital, for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners. But what came of it?

All the attempts of international imperialism to rehabilitate the capitalist order in our country fell through. The Soviet people, led by its experienced leader, the Communist Party, shattered all who tried by force of arms or by various other methods to restore the capitalist order in Russia.

The peoples of our country set out assuredly and firmly on the path of socialist development and were the first in the world to build a socialist society, thus turning into a reality the age-old dream of labouring mankind. They created a powerful socialist industry, the level of whose development can be characterized by the following figures: in 1955 the gross production of all industry in the U.S.S.R. exceeded the 1913 level 27 times, while the production of means of production rose sixtyfold, the production of electric power 86 times and engineering production more than 160 times. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Agriculture in our country is growing and developing.

Whereas before the revolution 76 per cent of the population of Russia was illiterate, illiteracy in our country had disappeared in the main by the Second World War.

This year there are nearly 35 million pupils in the schools and technical schools in our country. In the higher educational establishments there are now more than 1,865,000 students. Considerably more specialists are turned out in the Soviet Union than in Britain, France, Italy and other West European capitalist countries taken together. (*Applause.*)

It was not without reason that that active opponent of communism, Mr. Churchill, who not only prayed for the restoration of the capitalist order in our country, but wanted to restore that order in Russia by force, is now compelled to admit that in the preparation of specialists the Soviet Union has by far outstripped the capitalist countries. That grieves Mr. Churchill but it gladdens us all. (*Stormy applause.*)

The remarkable results in the development of our country are an inspiring example for the workers in the countries of People's Democracy and the peoples of other countries.

The peoples of the whole world, including those of the colonial and dependent states, are opposing with growing determination the exploitation of man by man, the oppression of some countries by others.

In that we cannot fail to see an expression of the great force of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which are penetrating into the conscience of millions of people on all continents. The future belongs to these teachings. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The workers in the countries of People's Democracy, who have been convinced by their own experience that only the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, the passing of power into the hands of the people, leads to real freedom, will answer the intrigues of their ill-wishers by rallying still more closely round their Communist Parties, Workers' Parties and Parties of Labour.

No matter how the capitalists rage they will not succeed in disorganizing the socialist camp. We shall continue to march along the path shown to us by the great Lenin; we shall go on together firmly hand in hand, sweeping from our way in our countries all that hinders progress in the building of communist society. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Certain more far-sighted and sober politicians in Britain, the United States of America and France realize that the stand taken of late by certain circles in the Western Powers is contrary to the spirit of Geneva.

I may quote the recent speech by Lord Chorley who admitted that the Western Powers were largely responsible for the failure of the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers.

"I must say," said Lord Chorley, "that I think the theory that the Western Powers have the monopoly of reasonableness will not stand up to examination...." I shall point out, by the way, that we quite agree with this. (*Animation.*) "They have in fact pursued what seems to me to be quite obviously the policy of old-fashioned 'power politics.' On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. has, I think, made quite substantial concessions and pursued a policy which is much more flexible and as a result of that has obtained advantage."

One cannot fail to agree with this appraisal.

Trying to throw the blame on others and to accuse us of violating the spirit of Geneva, some bourgeois journalists refer to my speeches and to speeches of other Soviet statesmen and politicians. They complain that in our speeches we say that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism will triumph. Is that violating the spirit of Geneva?

We did say and we still say that in peaceful competition between the two economic systems the socialist system will win, being the most progressive and most advanced system

which relies on the only correct Marxist-Leninist theory. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are not surprised and we do not protest when the ideologists of the capitalist world, that is of the opposite system, affirm that capitalism will win. We consider such an argument natural. Only history will decide it.

If some politicians consider our assurance that socialism, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, will win as a violation of the spirit of Geneva, they evidently misunderstand the spirit of Geneva. They should remember that we have never renounced and never will renounce our ideas or the fight for the victory of communism. They will never see ideological disarmament in our country. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Our conviction in the final victory of communism is not to the liking of the supporters of capitalism, and that neither surprises nor embarrasses us. But we say: in this competition, in this contest we shall never start an aggressive war; we shall tirelessly oppose all armament races and support disarmament, the strengthening of peace and peaceful co-existence.

Thus facts convincingly show that it is not the Soviet Union but our Geneva Conference partners who are violating the spirit of Geneva.

Let us take the following examples. The ink on the joint communiqué on the results of the Geneva Conference was still wet, when certain of our partners at that conference started to enlist new countries into the aggressive Baghdad pact; they have drawn Iran into it and are drawing other states into it.

At the first sitting of the present session of the Supreme Soviet we listened with attention to a speech by the head of the parliamentary delegation of Iran, Mohammed Sayed,

who said that the people of Iran want peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

We greet this statement, but we cannot refrain from saying that in spite of all the efforts of the Soviet Union to guarantee friendly relations with Iran the Government of that country has entered the Baghdad military bloc and therefore put the territory of Iran at the disposal of aggressive forces who are hatching plans of violence against the Soviet Union.

This applies not only to Iran, it applies to Turkey too. It will be recalled that when Turkey was led by Kemal Atatürk and Ismet Inonu we had very good relations with her which were subsequently darkened. We cannot say that it was only Turkey's fault, on our side, too, inappropriate declarations were made which cast a shadow over our relations.

But subsequently measures were taken on our part to change the situation and restore friendly relations with that country. On the Turkish statesmen's part, however, there was unfortunately no reciprocity.

American generals and admirals travel through Turkey making bellicose speeches, demonstrating their power by visits of naval detachments.

It is hardly reasonable of the Governments of Iran and Turkey to link their fate with the aggressive Baghdad pact and to refuse to establish good-neighbourly, friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The position of Pakistan towards her neighbours is a similar one; she is also a member of the Baghdad pact. Is it not a fact that Pakistan's relations with India, with Afghanistan and with the Soviet Union leave much to be desired?

In particular we cannot fail to notice that quite recently the American Admiral Radford visited Pakistan and then

Iran. He travelled through these countries, obviously not in order to strengthen economic and cultural ties, but for quite different aims.

This visit by an American admiral confirms the fears expressed previously that contrary to their national interests Pakistan and Iran are being more and more involved in adventurous machinations by the organizers of aggressive blocs. There is no doubt that if Pakistan had adopted the same independent attitude as, for example, India, quite different conditions would have been provided for the establishment of friendly relations between Pakistan and neighbouring countries.

We are sure that it will be understood in Pakistan in what an unenviable position the country has fallen and that the necessary conclusions will be drawn. We on our side are ready to meet attempts to establish friendly relations with Pakistan.

In connection with the Baghdad pact a few words must be said about the situation in the Middle East countries. As is known, the organizers of the Baghdad pact are doing all they can to draw the Arab countries into that pact. However, they are meeting growing opposition from the peoples of those countries.

The Soviet public has followed and still follows with sympathy the courageous struggle of the people of Jordan against attempts to include the country in the Baghdad pact against its will.

We understand the strivings of the peoples of the Arab countries who are fighting for their full liberation from foreign dependence. At the same time the activity of the state of Israel, which ever since it came into existence has been threatening its neighbours and pursuing a hostile policy towards them, must be condemned.

It is clear that such a policy does not correspond to the

national interests of the state of Israel and that behind those who are pursuing it are imperialist states which are known to all. They are trying to make use of Israel as a weapon against the Arab peoples with a view to plundering the natural wealth of that area.

While the Western Powers continue the policy of armament race and build up aggressive blocs, the Soviet Union is consistently and firmly pursuing its peace-loving foreign policy, strengthening friendship with all peoples who desire it in the interests of the consolidation of peace and security.

This year alone the Soviet Union cut down its armed forces by 640,000 men, gave up its military base in Finland—Porkkala Udd—and withdrew its troops from Port Arthur before the appointed time. The Soviet Union signed the State Treaty with Austria, which has now set out on the path of permanent neutrality, and withdrew its troops from her territory; it established diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic and undertook a number of other just as effective measures for the strengthening of peace.

The Soviet Union re-established friendly relations with Yugoslavia, with whom for a long time we had had abnormal, tense relations. We will continue to develop our good-neighbourly, friendly relations with Yugoslavia, to extend economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan holds a prominent place in this series of measures, as also do the agreements achieved between the Soviet Union and these countries.

During the discussion on the State Budget for 1956 at the present session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. we all voted unanimously for a decrease in expenditure on

defence needs by almost 10,000 million rubles in comparison with last year.

On the other hand, the Defence Minister of the U.S.A., Mr Wilson, declared recently that expenditures for the maintenance of the U.S. armed forces will be increased in the new budget year by 1,000 million dollars and will amount to the enormous sum of 35,500 million dollars. Wilson did not say that over and above this the budget foresees quite a considerable sum for other military expenditures as, for example, for the production of atomic arms, the accumulation of supplies of strategic material and military "aid" to foreign states.

Thus, whereas on our side there are concrete steps to ease international tension, on the other side, on the side of the Western Powers, we unfortunately see nothing of the kind. On the contrary, in the United States of America allocations for armament are being increased. Leading politicians in that country are extending aggressive pacts, and some of them come forward with warlike declarations which are by no means directed towards the strengthening of the spirit of Geneva.

Who therefore is strengthening the spirit of Geneva and who is undermining it?

In conclusion I should like to dwell on the question of the further existence of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties, which in the West is called the Cominform.

Strictly speaking, there are no grounds for such a question to arise. But foreign journalists in India often asked us: "Why do you not dissolve the Cominform? Can the activity of the Communist Parties in other countries not be stopped?"

Other people asked us the same question in their conversations.

We in turn said to those people: "But why do you not suggest the dissolution of the Socialist International? Why do you not suggest to do away with the various international unions of capitalists?"

Our interlocutors could give no answer.

Naturally, the Cominform is not to the liking of the opponents of communism. But scientific communism as a doctrine existed almost a hundred years before the Informbureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties was founded. Collaboration within the framework of the Cominform is a domestic matter for the Communist and Workers' Parties which stand on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and propagate a definite order of social organization. The Communist Parties represent the working class, they express and defend its interests, the vital interests of the popular masses.

It is not only the Cominform that the enemies of communism do not like. Still less to their liking is their-refutable fact that the all-triumphant doctrine of communism is every year winning to its banner more and more people in all countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people will remember how at one time the S.-R.'s, Mensheviks and other enemies of the working class said that they were for Soviet power but without the Bolsheviks. By such slogans those parties wished to deceive the people, to tear them away from their leader, the Communist Party, founded by the great Lenin. They knew that power could be changed, but that it was impossible to change the Communist Party. It is impossible to force it to retreat from the defence of the interests of the working class, the interests of the people, for the Communist Party is the genuine leader of the working class and the labouring peasantry, the leader of the people and the mouthpiece of their vital interests. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Communist Parties in all countries, following the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, link all their activity indissolubly with the interests of the people, the interests of the working class. This is not to the liking of those who wish to oppress the people for ever. No more to their liking is the international solidarity of the working class; they naturally wish that the Cominform should cease to exist. But that does not depend on them! (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

These are perhaps all the questions which it was necessary in my opinion to dwell upon in detail.

To conclude my speech I should like to express the assurance that the Supreme Soviet will approve the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan, for it promotes the strengthening of friendship and co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan. And in the friendship of the peoples of the world lies the mighty source of the power of the peoples who are barring the way to the outbreak of a new war. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, Comrade Deputies, from this rostrum to express once more our heartfelt gratitude to the great Indian people, to the Government of the Republic of India and to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, personally (*stormy applause*); to the friendly people of the Union of Burma, her Government and the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, personally (*stormy applause*); to the friendly people of Afghanistan, her Government and to the Prime Minister, Mohammed Daoud, personally. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are grateful from the bottom of our hearts for the hospitality, solicitude and affection the millions of people in those countries showed towards the Soviet Union and to our great people during our visit to India, Burma and

Afghanistan. (*Stormy applause.*) From the bottom of our hearts we thank the statesmen and public figures whom we met, the leaders of the states and provinces which we visited and in which we were everywhere given the most cordial welcome. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great friendship of all the peoples of the world! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Soviet people, the powerful and fearless fighter for the cause of peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all the victories of the Soviet Union! (*Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise.*)

APPENDIX

JOINT DECLARATION

**OF N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R.
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R.
SUPREME SOVIET,
AND JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER
OF INDIA**

At the invitation of the Government of the Soviet Union the Prime Minister of India visited the Soviet Union in June 1955. He was given a warm welcome and his trip strengthened friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries. A Joint Statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India was published towards the end of the visit, on June 22, 1955.

At the invitation of the Indian Government N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and other official representatives of the Soviet Union accompanying them visited India in November-December 1955. The population of India enthusiastically welcomed them wherever they went. Their visit strengthened the bonds of friendship linking the two countries and their peoples. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov visited different agricultural, industrial and hydro-technical developments, and regions where agricultural reconstruction is being carried out, state-owned farms and other centres of Indian economic development.

The visit to India of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and the visit to the Soviet Union of the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, provided them with the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with the peoples of these countries and their way of life, with the problems, achievements, and aspirations of each country, and led to mutual understanding between them and the peoples of their respective states, based on mutual respect, good will and tolerance.

The above-mentioned Joint Statement published on June 22, 1955, expressed their firm adherence to the Five Principles also known as *Panch Shila*.

These Principles proclaim that countries differing from one another politically, socially and economically can and must co-operate on the basis of mutual respect, and non-interference in one another's home affairs, and must abide by the policy of active and peaceful co-existence in the common desire to attain the ideals of peace and the improvement of living conditions.

Since these Five Principles were proclaimed a number of countries have adhered to, or expressed their agreement with, them. The countries represented at the Bandung Conference unanimously adopted a Declaration confirming these Principles, which have now won general recognition as a solid basis for co-operation between countries.

During the present visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov to India a free and frank exchange of opinion on problems of the international situation took place between them and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. This exchange of opinion bore out their firm conviction that international relations must be based on the Five Principles and that everything must be done to ease inter-

national tension and promote the consolidation of peace and international co-operation.

The Four Heads of Government Conference in Geneva in July 1955 resulted in the recognition by the Great Powers represented there of the senselessness of war, which owing to the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons can bring only calamities to mankind. This fundamental admission that war must be ruled out as a method of settling international disputes was received with deep satisfaction by the peoples of the world and resulted in a substantial relaxation of international tension. Although basic problems of Europe and Asia still remain unsolved, the natural consequence of excluding war as a method of settling outstanding questions was a change in the approach to them and the striving to solve them through negotiations. Diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. Negotiations were started and are still continuing on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the Chinese People's Republic. The conference on the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes successfully concluded its work this August, and the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution on the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency.

In order to continue the settlement of outstanding questions through negotiations, the Four Heads of Government Conference held in Geneva last July pointed to the necessity of convening a Conference of Foreign Ministers of the respective countries. This Conference was recently held in Geneva. It did not reach any agreement on the problems discussed, therefore the great hopes which had appeared as a result of the Four Heads of Government Conference have so far not materialized. The Conference, however, contributed to a clearer understanding of the problems facing the world,

and it is an indisputable fact that all these problems can be solved only by peaceful methods and through peaceful negotiations if war is to be excluded as it should be according to the general opinion. Therefore, disappointment over the results of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference can be only temporary and it is necessary to continue to exert every effort to ease international tension, considering negotiations to be the sole method of settling outstanding issues. The statesmen of both countries express their hope that the negotiations on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the Chinese People's Republic will lead not only to the solution of the questions under discussion, but also to greater mutual understanding through conferences at a higher level. They are convinced that durable peace in Asia is unthinkable without according the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate place in the United Nations. They express deep regret at the delay in recognizing this indisputable fact. They sincerely hope that other Far Eastern and Asian problems will be speedily solved through agreement, namely: the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic to the offshore islands and Taiwan must be satisfied and the Korean question solved on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Korean people and in conformity with the interests of peace in the Far East.

The statesmen of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India expressed satisfaction with the Geneva conference on Indo-China held last year. That conference put an end to the destructive war in Indo-China and outlined the procedure for settling the problems of the Indo-China states.

They note with regret that obstacles are being raised to the implementation of the Geneva agreements for Viet-Nam and that there are also difficulties in implementing the Geneva agreements on Laos. Violation of these agree-

ments will have exceedingly grave consequences both for Indo-China and the whole world. Therefore, the statesmen of both countries wish to appeal to all the signatories of, and the parties concerned in, the agreements to eliminate the obstacles now standing in the way of an effective implementation of the Geneva agreements and to co-operate fully in the execution of these agreements both in letter and spirit.

It is their firm conviction that the principle of universality must be applied in respect of United Nations membership. Until this principle is observed the United Nations will not be representative of all the countries of the world. Therefore they welcome the recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly on the simultaneous admission of 18 countries to the United Nations and sincerely hope that this recommendation will soon be adopted by the Security Council and carried into effect.

There is no other way of establishing peace throughout the world and eliminating the conditions leading to another devastating world war than disarmament. The increase or even the maintenance of the existing level of armaments is a constant threat of war, a source of fear and the cause of the race in the production of latest types of weapons of mass destruction. A pressing need of disarmament rises in direct proportion to the invention and accumulation of weapons of ever growing destructive potential. The widespread desire to see war eliminated demands positive, constructive and swift steps towards disarmament. Agreement has already been achieved to a great extent on this question, and obviously there is no reason why the remaining obstacles should not be quickly overcome if the establishment of lasting peace is the set goal. In particular, the statesmen of both countries wish once again to express their firm conviction that the manufacture, use and testing

of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons must be unconditionally prohibited. Besides this, there must be a substantial reduction of conventional armaments and an effective international control to ensure the strict implementation of such prohibition and disarmament. Until this is achieved the whole world will be darkened and depressed by the fear of war and the peoples will doubt the sincerity of the desire for peace.

The statesmen of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that the forming of military alliances or regional military blocs is not a means of safeguarding peace and security. Such alliances have extended the bounds of the "cold war" and have introduced the element of instability in the areas in question, have increased fear and tension and raised additional obstacles to the peaceful development of the countries concerned. Peace and genuine security of the peoples can be assured only by the collective efforts of states.

One of the most effective means of reducing fear and international tension is to eliminate barriers to mutual co-operation and understanding. For this purpose cultural and economic relations between countries should be encouraged. The statesmen of both countries noted with satisfaction the ever-increasing opportunities for the peoples of both countries to get to know each other better through the regular exchange of visits by scientists, technical experts, economists, members of parliament, writers and other cultural workers of both countries. They hope that there will be a steady extension of such opportunities for mutual contacts on a basis facilitating understanding of, and respect for, the different ways of life in the two countries.

The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, the Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Prime Minister of India, therefore, welcome

the development of co-operation between the two countries in building the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works in India and in carrying out other projects on which negotiations are already being conducted. India's second five-year plan, which devotes main attention to the development of heavy industry, can offer further possibilities for such co-operation. They consider it desirable that upon completion of the necessary preliminary work competent representatives of both countries meet to examine mutually advantageous forms of economic and technical co-operation and to reach agreement on concrete matters in cases when this is deemed necessary.

The visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov to India is an exceedingly important event not only because it has brought the two countries closer together, but also because it promotes the cause of universal peace. The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. A. Bulganin, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, N. S. Khrushchov, and the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, again proclaim their faith in the future and their firm resolve to devote their efforts to the consolidation of peace for the good of the peoples of their countries and of the whole world.

N. A. BULGANIN

Chairman of the U.S.S.R.
Council of Ministers

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister of India

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

JOINT SOVIET-INDIAN COMMUNIQUÉ ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE U.S.S.R.

The Joint Declaration of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, notes the desire of both countries to develop economic co-operation and to extend trade relations. In connection with this, representatives of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of India held preliminary negotiations and arrived at the understanding that it would be to the mutual advantage of both countries to increase the volume of trade to the maximum. As a first step in this direction the following agreement has also been reached:

1. A) The U.S.S.R. will deliver and India will buy over a period of three years beginning with 1956 one million tons of rolled ferrous metals, including 300,000 tons in the first year and 350,000 tons annually during the two following years. The time-limits and terms of these deliveries are to be agreed upon during subsequent negotiations.

B) Over a period of three years the U.S.S.R. will sell and India will buy such equipment for oil extraction, for the mining industry and other equipment, and also such other

goods as may be agreed upon by the parties. The delivery dates and the terms of sale and purchase of these goods and equipment will be agreed upon during subsequent negotiations.

C) The U.S.S.R. will considerably increase its purchases both of raw materials and manufactured goods in India on terms and at dates which will be agreed upon by negotiation between the buyers and sellers. The hope is expressed that the total value of such purchases, including the sums which may be required for the maintenance of Soviet official organizations in India, will be equal to the total value of the goods purchased by India in the U.S.S.R.

D) As provided for in the Soviet-Indian trade agreement, both Governments will afford maximum facilities as regards the imports and exports of the aforesaid goods, permitted by their respective laws, rules and regulations, and will co-operate in every possible way towards that end.

2. Taking into account the planned increase in the volume of trade and with a view to ensuring the proper conditions for shipment of these goods, both Governments consider it necessary to establish regular shipping lines between the ports of the U.S.S.R. and India, using Soviet and Indian vessels.

3. The representatives of both Governments have also agreed to send delegations from the U.S.S.R. to India or from India to the U.S.S.R. within the shortest possible time to discuss terms and to conclude agreements for the implementation of the arrangements set out above.

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

JOINT DECLARATION
OF N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R.
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R.
SUPREME SOVIET,
AND U NU,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF BURMA

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, paid a good-will visit to the Union of Burma from December 1 to 7, 1955. During their stay in Burma N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov had several talks with Prime Minister U Nu of the Union of Burma. These talks, held in a spirit of great cordiality and complete mutual understanding, offered opportunities for an extensive exchange of views on the questions of mutual interest and benefit to the two countries, and on some urgent problems of international significance.

It was reaffirmed in the course of these talks that the relations between the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma, which have always been sincere and friendly, are, and will be, based on the firm principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation. The statesmen of both countries are convinced

that the increasing application of these principles of peaceful co-existence to the relations between countries, large and small, will serve to strengthen peace and promote beneficial co-operation between the nations. They expressed satisfaction that more and more peace-loving countries and peoples are coming to recognize and accept these principles as furthering the interests of peace and the well-being of the peoples.

The confidence was expressed that the principles of peaceful co-existence present vast opportunities for co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma in the spheres of economy, culture, science and technology. The determination was likewise expressed to endeavour by all possible means to develop and strengthen closer relations between the two countries in these spheres, which will be in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma and contribute to peace and international stability. The statesmen of both countries agreed in this connection that talks on various questions should be continued by their representatives with a view to concluding concrete agreements.

The aspirations and efforts of the peoples of the world for peace and friendly co-operation and, especially, the Bandung Conference of last April, attended by countries with different political and social systems but united by the common aim of furthering economic, cultural and political co-operation, showed that understanding and co-operation between nations are quite possible, and created a climate conducive to the success of the Geneva Four Heads of Government Conference, which resulted in a marked relaxation of international tension. Complete agreement was reached that the relaxation of tension already achieved should be consolidated and that steps should be taken towards the further lessening of international tension. The

statesmen of both countries expressed confidence that although the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva had not reached concerted decisions on the problems outlined in the Directives of the Four Heads of Government, further efforts should be made to find solutions to those problems in the interests of peace.

The statesmen of the Soviet Union and the Union of Burma express their profound concern over the armament race and particularly the accumulation of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, which is increasing in scale year after year. They hold that to dispel fear and avoid the prospect of destruction of material values and a countless number of human lives, the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons should be prohibited unconditionally, conventional armaments substantially reduced and an effective international control established over the implementation of these measures. They consider it essential that resolute efforts should be made to attain these aims. They reaffirm their unanimous opinion that the policy of creating blocs should be condemned as giving rise to fear and mistrust among peoples, that only a policy of non-participation in such blocs promotes trust and good will between states, thereby contributing to the safeguarding of peace and security. They are convinced that international peace can be strengthened and the peoples' confidence in the future can be assured, not through the creation of blocs, but only through joint and collective efforts of all peoples.

The problem of the political settlement in Indo-China in keeping with the Geneva Conference's decisions should be solved without delay. The question of Korea's reunification and the restoration to the Chinese People's Republic of Taiwan and the other islands which are an integral part of China's territory must be settled immediately to ease

tension and consolidate peace in the Far East. The solution of these problems will facilitate the strengthening of international peace and security.

To enhance the prestige and importance of the United Nations, the Chinese People's Republic should be given its legitimate place in that organization. To ensure effective international co-operation for the promotion of peace and progress, United Nations membership should be universal and all countries meeting the requirements of the U.N. Charter should be admitted to it. Proceeding from this the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Union of Burma support the Canadian proposal in the United Nations concerning the admission of the eighteen applicants.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of the Union of Burma hold that an effective way to strengthen international understanding and confidence is personal contacts and talks between leaders, which will result in agreement and friendly relations between the peoples themselves.

N. BULGANIN

**Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the
U.S.S.R.**

U NU

**Prime Minister of the
Union of Burma**

December 6, 1955

SOVIET-BURMESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In conformity with the principles of co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Union of Burma in the spheres of economy, culture, science and engineering, as indicated in the Joint Declaration of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, the representatives of the two Governments have discussed problems relating to a programme for agricultural development and to the construction of certain industrial enterprises in the Union of Burma.

The Government of the Soviet Union has agreed to extend to the Government of the Union of Burma assistance and co-operation in preparing a programme for agricultural development, the construction of major irrigation works, and the building of certain industrial enterprises.

The Government of the Soviet Union has also agreed, in payment of the materials and services that will be required for the execution of the agreed projects, to accept convenient quantities of rice and to defer the payments in kind over a number of years should these quantities prove insufficient.

The Government of the Union of Burma highly appreciates this evidence of good will on the part of the Government of the Soviet Union.

As further evidence of good will to, and respect for, the people of the Union of Burma, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., have offered on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, as a gift to the people of the Union of Burma, to build and equip a technological institute in Rangoon with the means and resources of the U.S.S.R.

The Government of the Union of Burma highly appreciates the motives which have prompted the Soviet Government to make this offer; it accepts the gift with deep gratitude.

On behalf of the people of the Union of Burma, Prime Minister U Nu, in turn, has offered, as a gift to the people of the Soviet Union, an appropriate quantity of rice and certain other goods of Burmese make. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov have gratefully accepted the gift on behalf of the people of the Soviet Union.

JOINT DECLARATION
OF N. A. BULGANIN,
CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
MEMBER OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET,
AND MOHAMMED DAUD,
PRIME MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the persons accompanying them arrived in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, on December 15, 1955. They had meetings with His Highness the Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mohammed Daoud and members of the Afghan Government, and on December 16, 17, and 18 discussed questions of interest to both parties.

The Soviet statesmen's visit to the friendly neighbouring country of Afghanistan afforded the two parties the opportunity to set forth, in a spirit of sincerity and mutual confidence, their policy of peace and good neighbourship and to explore the possibility of further extending the political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries on a basis of respect for Afghanistan's policy of neutrality.

The exchange of opinions resulted in agreement on the following points:

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan have de-

cided to extend the friendly political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries, in which both are interested.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan are convinced that the peoples and nations still deprived of freedom and national sovereignty have the right, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, to determine their future destiny without outside influence or pressure.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan proclaim their adherence to the Five Principles: mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in one another's internal affairs on economic, political or ideological grounds; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful co-existence. These principles, unanimously adopted by the participants in the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries represent a firm foundation for peace and mutual understanding between the nations of the world and accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan hold that stable world peace and mutual understanding between the countries of the world depend upon general disarmament and unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, and that atomic energy should be used solely for peaceful purposes in furtherance of the progress of science and the welfare of mankind.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan consider that the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government and the subsequent Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers, which were convened in pursuance of the demand

of the peoples that international tension be eliminated and peace safeguarded, were productive of positive results. Recognizing that these conferences prepared the ground for, and helped to promote, mutual understanding between the countries concerned, the two parties are hopeful that similar conferences will, as a result of the efforts of these countries, be convened in the future for the removal of differences between the participants, and that they will beneficially influence promotion of mutual understanding between all countries, which is a cardinal requisite for the maintenance of world peace.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Royal Government of Afghanistan consider that the present situation and tension in the East are a menace to the tranquillity of the world. They are of the firm opinion that all outstanding Far Eastern questions should be settled in the interest of peace. Questions concerning China should be settled with due regard to the national rights of the Chinese people and, in particular, the Chinese People's Republic should occupy its lawful place in the United Nations.

The Governments of the two countries consider that the security of nations can be safeguarded only through co-ordinated and collective efforts of the states for the furtherance of peace.

The two parties, in conclusion, express the conviction that personal contact between statesmen of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan will serve to strengthen relations between the two countries and to promote world peace.

N. BULGANIN

Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the
U.S.S.R.

Kabul, December 18, 1955

MOHAMMED DAUD

Prime Minister
of Afghanistan

JOINT SOVIET-AFGHAN COMMUNIQUÉ ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND AFGHANISTAN

During the stay in Kabul of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., an examination was made of the trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan.

The Governments of the two countries have noted with satisfaction that trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan are steadily expanding to their mutual benefit.

At the same time they have expressed the unanimous opinion that these relations should be further developed and expanded in the interest of both countries.

With this end in view, the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan have decided that when the necessary preparatory work has been completed, their competent representatives shall meet to explore other mutually beneficial forms of economic and technical co-operation and conclude appropriate agreements.

It has been agreed that the aforesaid representatives shall, in particular, examine questions relating to co-operation in the development of agriculture and the construction of a hydro-electric station, irrigation works and automobile

repair shops in Afghanistan, and also in the reconstruction of the Kabul airfield.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. has agreed in principle to render Afghanistan technical assistance, as well as financial aid in the form of credit, in fulfilment of a programme of work to be agreed upon for the development of the aforesaid branches of Afghanistan's economy.

The credit to be granted by the Soviet Union in this connection has been fixed at one hundred million U.S. dollars and will be of a long-term character.

The terms of the credit are to be agreed upon by the parties during subsequent negotiations.

The Afghan Government has expressed its deep gratitude to the Soviet Government for the assistance it has agreed to render Afghanistan.

Kabul, December 18, 1955

PROTOCOL
PROLONGING THE TREATY OF NEUTRALITY
AND MUTUAL NON-AGGRESSION
BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND AFGHANISTAN
of June 24, 1931

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty the King of Afghanistan,

Desirous of further developing and strengthening the existing friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan,

Endeavouring to promote co-operation, peace and confidence between states in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter,

Recognizing that the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression signed by the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan in Kabul on June 24, 1931, accords with the vital interests of both countries and facilitates the effective promotion of the aforesaid purposes,

Have decided to conclude the present Protocol prolonging the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression of June 24, 1931, and have to this end appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.,

His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, His Highness Mohammed Naim, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan,

Who, after presentation of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article I

In amendment of Article 8 of the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression concluded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Kingdom of Afghanistan in Kabul, June 24, 1931, and of Article 1 of the Soviet-Afghan Protocol of March 29, 1936, concerning the time and procedure of terminating the 1931 Treaty, the High Contracting Parties have agreed that the Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present Protocol.

Upon the expiry of this period, the aforesaid Treaty shall be automatically prolonged from year to year, with the right of each of the High Contracting Parties to terminate its operation by giving six months' notice to this effect.

Article II

The present Protocol is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the day the instruments of ratification are exchanged, which shall be effected in Moscow at the earliest possible date.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol and attached their seals thereto.

Done in the city of Kabul on December 18, 1955, in two copies, each in the Russian and Persian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

**For the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

A. GROMYKO

For His Majesty the King of Afghanistan

MOHAMMED NAIM

* * *

(The text of the Treaty prolonged by the present Protocol follows.)

TREATY

OF NEUTRALITY AND MUTUAL NON-AGGRESSION BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND AFGHANISTAN

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, with a view to strengthening the friendly and good-neighbourly relations happily existing between the two countries on the basis of the Treaty signed in Moscow on February 28, 1921, and confident that these relations will continue to develop invariably and serve the lofty aims of universal peace, have decided to conclude the present Treaty, which is imbued with the same principles as the Treaty concluded in Paghman on August 31, 1926.

Article 1

In the event of war or hostilities between one of the Contracting Parties and one or several third powers, the other Contracting Party undertakes to observe neutrality in regard to the former.

Article 2

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to refrain from any attack on the other or on territories under its control, and not to take any steps or permit any actions on the part

of anyone which would injure the other Contracting Party politically or militarily. Similarly, each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to be a party to military or political alliances or agreements with one or several powers directed against the other Contracting Party, nor to a financial or economic boycott or blockade of the other Contracting Party. Furthermore, should the line of conduct of a third power or third powers towards one of the Contracting Parties be of a hostile character, the other Contracting Party not only undertakes to refrain from supporting such line of conduct, but is bound in its own territory to counteract it and the hostile actions or initiatives that might follow therefrom.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties, each recognizing the political sovereignty of the other, undertake to refrain from any armed or unarmed interference in the internal affairs of the other Contracting Party, and shall categorically refrain from assisting or participating in any intervention on the part of one or several third powers that might take action against the other Contracting Party. The Contracting Parties shall not allow and shall counteract in their territory the organization and activity of groups, and also the activity of individuals, who might do injury to the other Contracting Party, or conspire to overthrow the political system of the other Contracting Party, or plot against the integrity of its territory, or mobilize or recruit armed forces against the other Contracting Party. Similarly, the two Parties shall not permit or allow the transit through their territory of armed forces, weapons, ammunition, military equipment or other war material designed for use against the other Contracting Party.

Article 4

In accordance with what has been stated above in the present Treaty, each of the High Contracting Parties declares that it has not had, nor has it now, any secret or open commitments to one or several states which are contrary to the present Treaty, and that throughout the period of operation of the present Treaty it will not enter into any treaties or agreements contrary to this Treaty.

Article 5

Similarly, each of the Contracting Parties declares that it has no commitments, save such as have already been made public, to other states situated in the immediate neighbourhood, by land or sea, of the other Contracting Party.

Article 6

Outside the commitments specified in the present Treaty, each of the Contracting Parties retains full freedom to adopt any measures for the establishment of relations or alliances of any kind with third powers.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties recognize that any disputes or conflicts of whatever character or origin that may arise between them shall always be settled solely by peaceful means. Appropriate agreements may be concluded between the two Contracting Parties in furtherance of the provisions of the present article.

Article 8

The present Treaty has been concluded for a period of five years and shall enter into force upon its ratification, which shall be effected not later than two months from the

date of signature. The instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in the city of Kabul within a month after the ratification of the Treaty.

Upon the expiry of the five-year period the present Treaty shall be automatically prolonged from year to year, with the right of each of the Contracting Parties to terminate its operation by giving six months' notice to this effect. In the event of notification of denunciation being given in accordance with the provisions of the present article, the Contracting Parties shall forthwith enter into negotiations regarding the form in which the present Treaty shall be renewed.

Article 9

The present Treaty has been drawn up in the Russian and Persian languages. For purposes of interpretation both texts shall be considered authentic.

Done in Kabul, June 24, 1931

**RESOLUTION
OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET
ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT OF N. A. BULGANIN,
CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM
OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET,
TO INDIA, BURMA AND AFGHANISTAN**

Having heard and discussed the reports of Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, on their visit to the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses its full satisfaction with the results of the visit.

The Supreme Soviet notes that the friendly visit of the Soviet government leaders to these countries was a major political event and contributed to the promotion of peace in Asia and the Far East and to further relaxation of international tension.

The enthusiasm and cordiality with which the Soviet statesmen were greeted in India, Burma and Afghanistan is regarded by the Supreme Soviet as a manifestation of the deep respect and friendship cherished by the peoples of these countries for the peoples of the Soviet Union. The warm reception accorded to the representatives of the Soviet people shows that the efforts of our people for peace, and our country's achievements, are understood and appreciated by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan.

The Supreme Soviet notes that the visit of Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev was another important step in

strengthening the friendship and co-operation of the U.S.S.R. with the great country of India, with Burma and Afghanistan in working for peace, ending the "cold war" and securing further relaxation of international tension. The identity of the aims and aspirations of these countries in relation to the fundamental problem of international life—the preservation and consolidation of peace—has been reaffirmed. This identity of views of the U.S.S.R., India, Burma and Afghanistan is explained not by transitory causes, it is the result of their common fundamental interests as countries which desire international peace and security.

The talks revealed an identity of views on major aspects of the relations between these countries, also on such cardinal international problems as disarmament and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, satisfying the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in relation to the coastal islands and to Taiwan, granting the Chinese People's Republic its rightful place in the United Nations and settling other outstanding Asian and Far Eastern problems in accordance with the legitimate rights of the nations.

Of great importance is their unanimous agreement that peace can be safeguarded only by collective efforts of the states.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India, Burma and Afghanistan are based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence irrespective of their social systems.

The Supreme Soviet notes with satisfaction that these principles are gaining ever-wider international recognition. They have been made the basis of the relations of the

Chinese People's Republic with other countries, and they are supported by the countries which took part in the Bandung Conference and by a number of other countries in Europe and Asia. Adoption of these principles as the basis of the relations between all countries would be of enormous importance for establishing the necessary confidence among nations and removing the threat of a new war.

Another important result of the visit of Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev to these Asian countries is the agreements reached with them for expanding trade, economic, cultural and other relations, based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and without imposing any obligations of a political or military nature.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is confident that the contacts and co-operation between the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan in various spheres of state, economic, social and cultural activity will effectively develop, and that measures will be taken to facilitate wider acquaintance of their peoples with each other's life, achievements and culture, and broader interchange of experience.

Identity of the interests of the U.S.S.R., the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, Afghanistan and of all other peace-loving states in the matter of ensuring peace and national independence of the peoples creates the necessary conditions for the development of firm and enduring friendship between these countries, and for growth of co-operation between them, for the benefit of their peoples and in the interests of universal peace.

The visit of Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, Burma and Afghanistan evoked the whole-hearted approval of the peoples of many countries, especially colonial and dependent countries, and was hailed by all who are sincerely interested in eliminating the danger of war and in firm and enduring peace.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers that the visit of Comrades N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, has demonstrated the great importance of personal contact between statesmen for furthering mutual understanding, establishing confidence between states, and developing international co-operation. This visit will have the effect of weakening the forces of war and of strengthening peace throughout the world.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

To approve the activity of Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., during their visit to the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan, as being in full accord with the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and as contributing to international peace, friendship and co-operation.

The Kremlin, Moscow,
December 29, 1955



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